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MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF
VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH,

SECOND MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY.

EDITED BY

HIS BROTHER,
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G.C.B., &c.

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VOLUME AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF
VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

VOL. II.

██████ AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF
VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH,
██████ MARQUESS OF ██████████

1798 CONTINUED.

Irish Emigrants at Paris.

M'Mahon, Member of the Executive Committee, a Presbyterian parson from the County of Down, forced to emigrate in June last,¹ █████ over to London, where he met with Quigley, who █████ likewise obliged to leave Ireland. They stayed together in London, imitating the Patriots in the mode of forming Societies after the plan of United Irish. They had heard of the expedition █████ the Texel being intended for Ireland, and it █████ agreed █████ that an insurrection should be attempted in London, as soon as the landing was effected in Ireland. Colonel Despard █████ to be the leading person, and the King and Council █████ be put to death, &c.² Their force █████ estimated █████ 40,000, ready to turn out. M'Mahon, hearing

¹ No date is attached to this paper, but, from incidents mentioned in it, we may infer that it was written in the latter half of the year 1797.

² In the evidence produced at the trial of Despard, there was nothing, I believe, tending to implicate him in the treasonable designs of the United Irishmen: from the above account, however, he appears to have been one of the most sanguinary of that not over-scrupulous association. After █████ was dissolved, Despard conceived one of the wildest and most

traced London, resolved on going for France, and took Quigley interpreter: he got a subscription made pay Quigley's expences, collected twenty-five guineas, fifteen of which given by a Mr. Bell, of the City, (summoned on the trial of O'Connor), and ten guineas by Chambers, of Abbey Street, Dublin, who has been this long time in London, keeping up a correspondence (as I believe) between Lewins, &c.

M'Mahon and Quigley went over to Cuxhaven, thence directly for Holland, board the fleet, and, when the expedition went off, proceeded to Paris. They there found Lewins, but could get no satisfactory answer from him relative to his communications with the French Government. A quarrel the consequence; and Quigley was despatched privately by M'Mahon to London, to get sent over to represent the Patriots of both nations, and to replace Lewins. A paper drawn up by Benjamin Binns, and which they had

extravagant designs that ever entered the sanguine imagination even of an Irishman. Without money, without arms, without force—for it appeared not more than fifty or sixty individuals, consisting of private soldiers, artisans of the lowest class, and day-labourers, were engaged in his conspiracy,—he aimed nothing less than the murder of the King, and the overthrow of the Government. Their meetings were held in obscure public-houses, where treasonable oaths were administered. Towards the of the year 1802, the conspirators, deeming their plans sufficiently matured, fixed a day for attacking the Tower; and it was resolved that the grand blow should be struck on the 16th of November, when the King intended to open the new session of Parliament; of which circumstance the wretches seriously resolved avail themselves for destroying his Majesty, by gaining possession of the great gun on the Parade before in St. James's Park, loading a chain-shot, and firing it at his Majesty's carriage as it passed on his return to St. James's. Their proceedings were cut short by the apprehension of Despard and about thirty of his accomplices. Twelve of the latter, with their leader, brought on February 7, 1803, and their guilt being fully established, he and six of his ignorant dupes were executed with the formalities usual in cases of treason on the of February, Horse-

brought [REDACTED] to sketch out something from, [REDACTED] made [REDACTED] of; but Tom Paine told Quigley he might [REDACTED] the English that France only made war against their Government. Quigley returned with Mumphort. M'Mahon has about £300 sterling property remitted him by Charles Rankin, of Belfast: this he [REDACTED] to employ in buying a farm. Tired of politics, especially those of France, he [REDACTED] to write to Citoyen Jean Thomas à la Poste restante, à Hamburg, whom he looks [REDACTED] a good patriot.

Hamilton, nephew to Russel, who is in prison in Ireland, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] for fear of being taken up in London. [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] Bailey, nephew of Colonel Bailey, sailed together, the [REDACTED] of April, from Gravesend, in a vessel going to Holland, but cleared out for Hamburg. The captain took them gratis. Bailey stayed hostage at the Hague whilst Hamilton [REDACTED] to Paris, to make himself known to [REDACTED] countrymen, and send thence a passport for his colleague; arrived in Paris the 17th, with twelve livres in his pocket: [REDACTED] Lowins at Brussels, who promised to procure the passport for Bailey. Bailey has some money, is a half-pay officer, came lately from Ireland, has an account of the forces in the different parts of Great Britain and Ireland.

Macin, a farmer's [REDACTED] in [REDACTED] County of Louth, [REDACTED] with the two Byrnes, [REDACTED] likewise

Burgess, a young [REDACTED] from Drogheda, speaks of returning.

Lowry, well-known; at present, very ill.

Teeling, ditto, had a letter from [REDACTED], whom he met in London, to the Abbé Sieyès, and [REDACTED] from a person of [REDACTED] name of Webb, in King Street, to Tom Paine.

O'Finn and his wife went over about Christmas, more to avoid [REDACTED] creditors, and had no money but a bill [REDACTED] Ireland, which [REDACTED] nine or ten months to run—applied to Buonaparte to give [REDACTED] cash for it; appears [REDACTED] be either a fool or knave. His wife is English, is coming over, [REDACTED] will bring some papers.

Colonel Tandy ■ actually starving, having ■ ■ ■ and most of his clothen. Lewins has swindled him out of £50, ■ Government there ■ do nothing ■ him.

Muir got ■ thousand livres—it is ■ ten thousand livres—that's almost gone. ■ has with him a young man of the name of Smyth, ■ gunmaker, from the same place in Scotland, ■ fled about five years ago; expects to be ■ in about three weeks on mission by the French Government.

Jennings, a cousin but passes for ■ nephew of General Kilmaine's, lives with the General.

P. Herve, known.

Lewins, ditto, has ■ money.

J. Orr, ditto, has received ■ remittance of £500.

M'Shicky, ■ officer of some merit, ■ under Tons, but they fell out. He ■ gone to Toulon with ■ Lewis, an American.

Tons is at Rouen, where there's about 4000 men ■ ten or twelve gun-boats building.

Tennent received £2500 of remittance—he instantly ■ his countrymen, and went with one Thomas Wilson to —, where they have made ■ purchase. When the French heard of this remittance, both Buonaparte and Barras sent for him, but took ■ further notice than merely speaking to him a few words of ■ conversation. Part of the money belongs to the Simmes, of Belfast, part to his brother, and £700 to himself.

Maguire, ■ friend of Tons's, was sent to Ireland to give the account of Hoche's coming.

Duckett, Secretary to Leonard Bourdon.

Oary, frightened to America by Lord Carhampton—brother to the priest who was in the Executive Committee—arrived the ■ or 4th of May from Hamburg with Duckett, who was then applying for passports for one Murphy, lately expelled Dublin College, ■ Orr, a relation of ■ that was hanged: they are now at Altona.

O'Mely, an Irishman, citizen of America, went with Lewins to the Hague, is on mission now either in England or Ireland—a rich man, ■■■ a great ■■■ of Tom Paine's.

■ person of the name of Est, or East, son of a clergyman in London;¹ brought over from Paris Tom Paine's letter ■ Erskine, and got ■ printed—Paine told me so.

Colonel Despard, ■ Mr. Bonham, young Lawless, and Robert Simms, ■ the only persons in whom the Irish ■ Paris ■ ought ■ place any confidence, in ■ ■ either wrote ■ came to England or Ireland.

Lord Castlereagh ■ Mr. Wickham.

Phoenix Park, November 19, 1798.

My dear Sir—Tone died this morning of his wound.²

A writ ■ been moved to bring up Moore, the Rebel President of the Connaught Directory, now confined ■ Castlebar.

¹ The Rev. Charles Este, one of the Reading Chaplains ■ the Chapel Royal, Whitehall: he had at one time a share in the conduct of the Morning Post and the World newspapers.

² Sir John Moore, who was actively engaged in suppressing the rebellion, in speaking of the leaders, bestows the following notice on Tone:—

"The day before I left Dublin Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone was brought in prisoner, taken on board the Hoche in the action of the 12th of October. ■ endeavoured to see him, but he was conveyed to the Provost prison before I reached the Castle. He is said to have been one of the principal and first framers of the United Irish. He is the son of a coachmaker in Dublin, but was educated at the College for a lawyer; and, by some writings which are said to be his, he appears to have been a man of considerable talent.

"He was tried by a court-martial at the barracks the day after his arrival, where, I understand, he conducted himself with great firmness and manliness. He had prepared a speech, part of which only he was permitted to read, the rest being considered inflammatory. He ■ the charge of coming in arms as the leader of a French force, to invade Ireland; but said it was as a man banished, amputated from all natural and political connexion with his own country, and a naturalised subject of

that a special [redacted] should [redacted] made to [redacted] writ. The Counties of Mayo, Wicklow, and Wexford, [redacted] so disturbed, that it is impossible, with any effect, to send the King's commission into them: nothing but martial authority can repress [redacted] daring outrages of the Rebels, who still [redacted] those counties. We must struggle [redacted] as well as we [redacted] the meeting of Parliament. Nothing, however, but a legislative provision [redacted] solve the difficulty to which [redacted] are exposed.

The despatch received from England yesterday [redacted] [redacted] give us something to do. The opponents of the Union only wait for Government to take the first step. The Lord-Lieu- [redacted] [redacted] to see Lord Shannon [redacted] morning, and to-morrow several of the principal persons in town. We shall endeavour to have this question stated to the public in such a way, [redacted] will

France, bearing a commission of the French Republic. He produced his commission constituting him adjutant-general in the French service, his orders, &c. He said he knew, from what had already occurred to the officers, natives of Ireland, made prisoners on this expedition, what would be his fate: on that, however, he had made up his mind. As to the sentence of the court, which he so fully anticipated, he had but one wish, that it might be inflicted within one hour; but the only request that he had to make to the court was that the mode of his death might not degrade the honour of a soldier. The French army did not feel [redacted] contrary to the dignity or the etiquette of arms to grant a similar favour to emigrant officers taken on returning under British command, to invade their native country, and who had obtained their request of being shot by files of grenadiers. [redacted] like fate was the only favour he had to ask; and he trusted that men susceptible of the nice feelings of a soldier's honour would not refuse his request.

"Next morning it was found that he had endeavoured to avoid public execution by an attempt to kill himself. [redacted] was discovered with his windpipe cut across. His execution was necessarily postponed. A motion has since been made in the Court of King's Bench by Mr. Curran for a *habeas corpus*, directed to the keeper of the Provost Marshalsea, to bring the body of T. W. Tone, with the cause of his detention. [redacted] is so far fortunate, as it is to stop for the future all trials by court-martial for civil offences, and things are to revert to their former and usual channel."

give a [redacted] to [redacted] friends [redacted] literary advocates. The Bar is disposed to be very hostile : [redacted] more intemperate have wished to [redacted] it [redacted] in their military capacity ; proper steps have been [redacted] to [redacted] this, and I hope with effect. [redacted] would leave Government no other alternative but to disarm the corps. The question [redacted] very little understood ; of course, much feared. [redacted] is very fortunate that our Parliament is not sitting, [redacted] there will be [redacted] for considering the subject before [redacted] [redacted] brought into discussion. I [redacted] from time to time send you whatever occurs [redacted] this most interesting subject, [redacted] important to the future interests of both countries.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

Cleveland Square, November 23, 1798.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—You will have thought me a [redacted] truant in point of correspondence ; but [redacted] private business which I have left for a long while unsettled obliges [redacted] to be much in the country, and I have depended [redacted] Lord Camden for supplying you with intelligence.

The Speaker is still adverse to a Union, and, from all I hear, I think it dubious whether he will not entirely oppose it. Parnell, I understand, talks very loosely [redacted] the subject, but, [redacted] the whole, [redacted] unfriendly to the [redacted]

In consequence of the numerous difficulties in which the arrangement [redacted] involved, [redacted] not be surprised if the project of [redacted] Union is in the end abandoned : and, as Mr. Pitt [redacted] chosen to make the attempt upon the [redacted] basis, my regret [redacted] the dereliction of [redacted] will be much diminished.

Camden says that it appeared to be the wish of the [redacted] that you should come to England, and that the Duke of Portland promised to write on [redacted] point to the Lord-Lieutenant. The Duke, however, I find, has not yet done it, but I reminded him of it to-day.

[REDACTED] I have not time to add a word more. In the [REDACTED] of the next or the succeeding post, I will explain to you the [REDACTED] of my feelings with respect to remaining another Session in Ireland. If the Union is persevered in the plan proposed, I am [REDACTED] it will be impossible for me to continue without much embarrassment to myself and injustice towards those with whom I am to act.

Believe me, with the [REDACTED] affection, &c.,

W. E.

Lord Castlereagh to the Right Hon. Maurice Fitzgerald.

[REDACTED] Park, November 21, 1798.

My dear Sir—From the great personal regard I entertain for you, and the anxious desire I have that the King's Government should have the advantage of your assistance, [REDACTED] critical period, and in a measure of the last importance, I take the earliest opportunity of intimating to you, in the strictest confidence, that the incorporation of the two countries by a Legislative Union is seriously looked to as the best security of [REDACTED] future peace and for the preservation of [REDACTED] present Establishments.

The subject is beyond the compass of a letter. If your mind has not already entertained [REDACTED] proposition with preference, I am confident that you will consider it with the temper and candour which a great question deserves. I should wish much to have an opportunity of communicating with you personally, and of explaining the general outline of the measure. I shall only be present assure you, that no other motive than a consideration of local as well as Imperial security weighed upon the minds of His Majesty's Ministers in looking to this arrangement, so their views in respect to Ireland, in the [REDACTED] of the plan, in the great points of Representation, Trade, [REDACTED] Revenues, [REDACTED] as liberal as the [REDACTED] friend to this country would wish.

I beg you [REDACTED] consider this letter [REDACTED] written in the strictest confidence for your [REDACTED] eye only.

I am, my dear sir, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

[REDACTED] Park, November 22, 1798.

My dear Sir—As the Duke of Portland will naturally be anxious to learn the [REDACTED] in which the officers of the English Militia [REDACTED] impressed on the question of their return, [REDACTED] there is considerable danger that the opinions which have been very freely stated by them may reach the men and direct their conduct, I think [REDACTED] necessary to be the [REDACTED] particular in my communications on this subject. When I last wrote, I did hope that the only question that could possibly arise was, whether the Regiments who volunteered to serve in Ireland subsequent to the passing of [REDACTED] Act made that offer in contemplation of the limited duration of the Acts; [REDACTED] so, they could [REDACTED] in justice be bound beyond the intention of the tender made: and, in this case, it would [REDACTED] necessary to admit their claims, and appeal to their zeal rather than legal authority, for [REDACTED] continuance of their service. I am sorry, however, to find that a considerable proportion of the [REDACTED] defend this opinion, [REDACTED] maintain that the whole body have a right to demand their recal at the expiration of the present Act. I have had communication with some of the gentlemen who [REDACTED] tertain this sentiment, and they reason thus: they [REDACTED] that the English Militia offered their services for the emergency of the Rebellion, not for the general defence of Ireland during the war; that the men, having this impression [REDACTED] their mind, naturally have looked for [REDACTED] definite termination of their service here, the obvious period of which [REDACTED] [REDACTED] be either the suppression of the Rebellion, or the expiration of the Act.

It is necessary to observe that, in point of fact, I have no grounds to believe that [REDACTED] reasoning originated with the [REDACTED]. I have [REDACTED] these [REDACTED] [REDACTED] they [REDACTED] not [REDACTED] their services generally to the King for the suppression of the Rebellion, [REDACTED] for the defence of an important member of the Empire against the foreign enemy. They assume that the [REDACTED] is suppressed, and [REDACTED] France has abandoned [REDACTED] intention of invading Ireland. Denying [REDACTED] these facts, I put [REDACTED] to them, [REDACTED] a question of [REDACTED] sense, whether a private soldier was competent to decide this point; or whether he obviously had not, by the spirit of his offer, surrendered [REDACTED] discretion to the Crown, to be exercised by His Majesty under the control of Parliament. If the suppression of the Rebellion gave the Militia soldier a legal right to be sent back, of which fact he himself was to be the judge, the claim [REDACTED] destructive of [REDACTED] discipline, and they could not have answered for their men on parade, any one morning since the insurgents [REDACTED] found [REDACTED] impossible to assemble in force. If this principle [REDACTED] indefensible, that which was founded on the duration of the Act could as little be maintained. The Act [REDACTED] not introduced when this offer [REDACTED] made, and its limitation [REDACTED] a restriction placed by Parliament, not by the troops, in the King's power of employing them in this kingdom.

Not being able [REDACTED] contest the point of law, they rely upon the fact that it is so understood by the men, [REDACTED] that they expect either [REDACTED] be sent back, or again applied to for a further offer of service. Whether it is so at present [REDACTED] not, there is every reason to apprehend [REDACTED] [REDACTED] may be their impression, from the extent to which it [REDACTED] obtained amongst the officers. The dilemma with them arises, either to contest the question upon a principle of authority, in which there is a risk of being opposed, or, [REDACTED] best, feebly supported by the officers, or of being driven [REDACTED] a fresh communication with the [REDACTED] whose decision [REDACTED] impossible to foresee.

Were the British Militia [REDACTED] press their recal, there is every

reason to apprehend that several regiments of Fencibles who were induced by the public motive to offer their services in Ireland would do the same. The alarming prospect of withdrawing from this country, where the treason is rather quiescent than abandoned, the flower of its army, at a period when the King's Ministers have in contemplation a great constitutional settlement, his Grace will feel. The Lord-Lieutenant's opinion decidedly is that, without the force in question, it would expose the King's interest in this Kingdom to a measure which, however valuable in its future effects, cannot be in the discussion very seriously to agitate the public mind, upon which the well-disposed part of the community may be expected warmly to be opposed to each other. No degree of exertion has been omitted to counteract, as far as possible, the apprehended danger. Every effort will be made by his Excellency to impress upon the officers how deeply the public interests are involved in their cheerful continuance in this kingdom. The Lord-Lieutenant will find himself strongly supported by many of the officers, who are alive to the importance of removing any erroneous conceptions they may have formed on a question which so much affects, in a degree almost to decide, the future destiny of Ireland.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

CASTLEREAGH.

PS.—Since I wrote the above, I have had, by the Lord-Lieutenant's directions, a very free communication with Lord Buckingham. I am authorized to impress upon the Lordship's mind the great danger his Excellency apprehended to the general security of this kingdom, were the Militia withdrawn; and, in such case, it would be his Excellency's duty to represent to his Majesty's Government the extreme danger of hazarding the measure in contemplation.

His Lordship saw the importance of their services in this point of view with the Lord-Lieutenant: he is so

as ■ say that, ■ Lordship's judgment, ■ event of ■ question of Union is altogether dependant on their continuance. He stated, that ■ difference of opinion prevailed amongst the officers as to the legal part of the question : that Lord Hartford ■ they ■ compellable to ■ under the offer they ■ made, provided the English Parliament thought ■ the Act. His Lordship entertained the opposite opinion, ■ I believe that the greater number of ■ officers agreed with him.

■ respect ■ the Buckinghamshire regiment, he ■ given them ■ distinct ■ that their stay in Ireland could not be extended beyond the period of the Act. What- ■ opinion might ultimately be entertained on the legal question, his Lordship could not possibly break faith with his men, or be the person to enforce an obligation in opposition to his ■ declaration.

■ expressed much anxiety that the Militia could be prevailed ■ to remain, but thought it impossible, unless some specific period of return was fixed. His Lordship ■ whether I thought the 25th of March would give the State sufficient latitude ; for, in that period, he conceived it might ■ managed, if the officers acted in concert, and seemed inclined to ■ into a consideration of what ■ ought to be taken for that purpose. I ventured to suggest that, as it ■ a question altogether between the English Government and the Militia, and in which the Irish Government, however deeply interested, could only act under their instructions, it appears to me of the last importance not to take any step without knowing the sentiments of the King's Ministers, which might counteract their views, and prematurely pledge the officers. ■ Lordship ■ pleased to acquiesce in this idea.

■ Lordship adverted to ■ Tone's case, and observed that, the Proclamation of ■ Law being superseded by the King's Bench, the English Militia were exposed ■ ■ ■

tions of the Civil Courts for all those of general policy not justifiable by ordinary course of law, which they directed to execute. I assured him the Lord-Lieutenant by means considered the Proclamation in any degree superseded; that, whatever might been the decision upon Tone's individual case, had he lived, His Excellency desired not any account to abdicate that summary discretion, although the Courts sitting, the necessity for which Parliament recognised, and which the public safety still required; that he had, since the in question, approved of sentences by Court-martial, and directed them to be executed in other parts of the kingdom; and that his Lordship might depend on the Militia being justified and protected to the utmost, in the execution of those orders which the Lord-Lieutenant felt it his duty impose, whether strictly legal or not, for the security of the metropolis. His Lordship perfectly satisfied.

I trust the Lord-Lieutenant will shortly receive directions how to act on this most important question.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret.

Whitehall, November 1798.

My Lord—I have the Duke of Portland's directions to request that your Lordship will communicate the following intelligence to the Lord-Lieutenant.

A vessel named the *Morgan Rattler*, Captain Doyle, lately arrived at Hamburg from Dublin, with fugitives. is at the point of returning. She goes north about to take the benefit of the first convoy as far as Leith. The captain takes letters and papers from Duckett, Call, Colonel in the army at Wexford, Reed, who lately from Dublin; Duff, Campbell, but whose Dornan, or Dornier, Fallarton, their in Ireland. Directions have been sent to the officer commanding

his Majesty's ships ■ the mouth of the Elbe ■ search the ■ for ■ papers, and to conduct the vessel itself into ■ port. Doyle pretends that he knows Holt, and ■ proposed seeing him before he again returned from Ireland, ■ to do soon.

Burges, M'Cann, and Corbet arrived ■ Hamburg ■ the 3rd from Bergen, having preceded Napper Tandy and General Blackwell, who certainly ■ not then passed through that city. There ■ one Bolton ■ Hamburg, a fugitive Irishman from Dublin, who goes by the ■ of Gordon. Campbell, ■ Duff, whom I have mentioned above, and whose real name ■ Dornan, ■ Dorner, is said to have been concerned in the murder of a person of the ■ of Pentland, or Portland, ■ Drogheda. Besides Tone, there ■ certainly ■ board the Brest fleet Hamilton, of Enniskillen, Jennings, nephew to Kilmaine, Maguire, and Corbet, brother to the ■ who has arrived at Hamburg. The French mission uniformly ■ free them passports to ■ to France.

A committee of Irish has been formed at Hamburg, to correspond with that ■ Paris. Grey and Bolton (who is there under the ■ of Gordon), are, I understand, making attempts through their friends ■ be allowed to return to Ireland. Their language (as well as their conduct and connexions) at Hamburg is such ■ leave ■ doubt of their being very dangerous persons, ■ unworthy of any indulgence.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Lord Castlereagh ■ the Right Hon. John Beresford.

Private.

■ Park, November 24, 1798.

My dear Sir—I have postponed thanking you for your letter, in hopes of sending you some ■ Lord Cornwallis ■ been engaged this week in sounding the principal persons in town: ■ Lord Pery sees ■ objections in a strong point

of view, I rest disposed to entertain the question, with a greater degree of preference than others. The lawyers are inclined to me on the subject than they were some time back: they are by all means unanimous, though the contents still have it. Cork is, I am told, strongly for it; Limerick also. The subject, though much of, is little understood. We shall endeavour, in a few days, to have it stated: it is necessary to encourage the discussion, else there is some danger of its being disposed of by acclamation.

How long do you look to remain? I do not yet foresee whether I shall be able to get away for a short time or not. The country is pretty much as you left it, the Orangemen and Catholics likely to quarrel in the County of Derry.

With great respect and regard, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to the Right Hon. John Foster, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons.

Park, November 24, 1798.

My dear Sir—I have been induced to postpone writing to you, from a wish to render you some explanation of the impression which the increasing expectation of the Union being brought forward seemed to produce on the public mind. The Bar, which showed most disposition to active resistance, has yet taken no step: the body is hostile, but there is a considerable company of disputants. The citizens are disinclined to the measure, but some of their oracles are favourable to it, as the only means of preserving the Protestant against the Irish Papists and their English supporters. Cork, I understand, is unanimous in favour; Limerick the same; the North yet torpid—the question is little understood.

I regretted much not seeing you before your departure. It would have been a very great satisfaction to my mind to have communicated with you, on the most momentous question.

Looking ■ ■ with a sanguine preference myself, I am most ■ ■ know the extent of ■ ■ ■ ■ which present themselves to your mind; exclusive of the confidence I always feel in ■ ■ sanction of your judgment, I ■ ■ thoroughly persuaded that, on this most ■ ■ measure, your active and hearty assistance in the detail can alone carry us through it, so ■ ■ to give ■ ■ due effect.

As ■ ■ as Lord Cornwallis's communications have gone, they are as favourable ■ ■ could be expected in the present stage of the business, in which every man's view of the subject ■ ■ materially influenced by the future impressions which the public may receive. Lord Pery¹ seems to entertain the strongest doubts. Great deliberation and caution ■ ■ necessary. The people must not be precipitated in their decision, lest, in being committed against it, they may be committed against us, and forget that they are surrounded with treason. No question ever demanded ■ ■ patient an investigation; and the first object for our general safety is, that it may be made ■ ■ question of calm discussion.

How long shall you remain in London?

With sincere regard, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to Lord Glentworth.

Phoenix Park, November 24, 1798

My dear Glentworth—I regret your absence from town ■ ■ this moment, ■ ■ I should have wished much ■ ■ have communicated with you very fully and confidentially on the great question which at present occupies ■ ■ attention. Is there any probability of your being soon in Dublin?

Lord Pery ■ ■ more impressed with the objections to the measure than any of our ■ ■ here present. I have ■ ■

¹ Having filled the Speaker's chair in the Irish House of ■ ■ from 1771 ■ ■ 1785, he was in that year created Viscount Pery.

yet conversed with him as fully as I could wish and shall do ; as his ideas are always of the highest value, and bear the appearance of [REDACTED] years he reckons.

What are the impressions at Limerick ! I should suppose, in [REDACTED] with Cork, favourable.

Until you [REDACTED] I have any chance of seeing you, I [REDACTED] add [REDACTED] of the sincere regard with which I am always, &c.

CASTLEBAGH.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, November 26, [REDACTED]

My Lord—In the letter with which I transmitted to your Excellency the proposed articles of Union between this kingdom and Ireland, I informed you [REDACTED] it should be shortly followed by suggestions and observations, which it [REDACTED] hoped would tend to facilitate the accomplishment of that very desirable event ; but, several doubts having arisen concerning the modes which had occurred for choosing the representatives of the Commons of Ireland in the United Parliament, it has been thought most advisable to confine the instruction which I am to give you upon this part of the measure to two great outlines, and to leave the decision respecting [REDACTED] particular mode of election open, until we receive from your Excellency the result of the conferences which you will have upon the subject with those who have the most immediate interest in the rights of voting and in the consequences of elections ; as well as with those who are best acquainted with the usages, customs, [REDACTED] prejudices, expectations, and wishes of the country, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] in discovering and managing [REDACTED] disposition of [REDACTED] people. Your Excellency will therefore take such [REDACTED] as you judge [REDACTED] proper for making this investigation ; [REDACTED] I have [REDACTED] present only to recommend to you to take most particular care, throughout the course of it, that it may be clearly

understood that the preservation of the rights of election, in every county, city, and place which sends members to Parliament, precisely in the same manner and form in which they were enjoyed and exercised, is one of the fundamental points in which no alteration whatever will be suffered to be proposed; the other is, that the number of representatives to be chosen by the Commons of Ireland is upon no account whatever to exceed one hundred.

Subject to these two conditions, in neither of which any relaxation will be admitted, it is the wish of this Government to dictate or to intimate any other preferences than to that mode which is most consonant with the constitutional principles of Representation, which know no difference between a knight of the most opulent shire and the representative of the most insignificant borough in the kingdom; but, whether the reduction which is to take place in the number of the representatives is to be effected by one member being returned for the counties, instead of two, as at present, and classing the boroughs in the manner adopted in Scotland, or by alternating one of the counties, of which examples are also to be found in the representation of that part of the kingdom, or by returning the present number of representatives, and empowering them by ballot or otherwise to choose delegates for the whole body of electors, or for a part of them only, are considerations so much of a local nature that it is to be wished that your Excellency may be able to collect the sentiments of the country upon them with sufficient decision to point out the mode which will be the most grateful to the general feelings of the Irish.

With respect to the future representatives of the Peerage of Ireland, with the difference only in point of number, and of the admission of spiritual as well as temporal Lords, it is the wish that a better model could not be followed than that of the election of the 16 Peers in Scotland; and I should suppose that the most, taken out of the whole body, or of whom

partial delegation, they must be restrained from any other business or discussing any other topic than that of the election which they are called together to make, under the same penalties which the Peers of Great Britain have been made liable, which penalties will of course be made to attach to the Peers of Ireland under the same circumstances.

The fairness and liberality which manifest themselves in the 6th and 7th Articles, which relate to Commerce and Revenue, make it necessary for me to observe on the queries which are opposite to them. The subjects reserved for consideration are evidently pledges of a disposition on this subject to everything that is kind, generous, and friendly to the people of Ireland. Upon the last query, it may be right to inform your Excellency, in confidence, that Mr. Pitt has a plan in contemplation by which there is reason to hope that it may be found to make every individual contribute to the exigencies of the State in proportion to the fair amount of his income; in which, if he should prove successful, it is not possible to imagine a juster criterion to determine the quota which each country should bear of the public expense. In the mean time, other data must be resorted to; and it should be that a fairer and better could not be fixed upon than the relative proportion of the permanent war and peace establishments of the three kingdoms. This certainly may serve as a basis for a temporary arrangement for a given term, subject to the expiration of it, to revision and alteration, as circumstances may vary and require; and you may be very confident that every care will be taken in such an arrangement to give no cause of complaint or jealousy to our newly united brethren.

When you have sufficiently felt the pulse of the country, and have collected their sentiments, to enable you to form an opinion of the mode by which the Union may be likely to be brought to a successful issue, I would request you to spare Lord Castlereagh, and to let him come over in a short time, as I think that great facility

■ advantage would be ■ from personal communication ■ in making these arrangements, without which I ■ but apprehend the accomplishment of this great work may ■ considerably retarded, if not exposed to fail.

■ any doubts present themselves to you, or any questions ■ upon which you have occasion to wish for information, you will always find me ready to give you every satisfaction in my power, and happy to relieve you, to the best of my abilities, from any part of that weight to which you are subjected by the importance of your public station.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, Monday, November 28, 1798.

My Lord—I beg your Lordship's pardon for having thus long omitted to acquaint you that I ■ the honour of laying your letter of the 15th instant before the King, who was pleased to express his perfect confidence in your abilities and zeal in his service; and, without presuming to think ■ add to the weight of such a sanction, you will give me leave, I hope, ■ assure you very plainly and very sincerely that, in my humble opinion, the proofs ■ have had the pleasure to receive of your talents and knowledge in business fully justify the Lord-Lieutenant's wishes for your assistance, and the sentiments which his Majesty authorized ■ to communicate ■ you.

In such a ■ the present, and with a ■ of such ■ importance in contemplation, ■ cannot surprise your Lordship that ■ the King's servants, and that ■ person particularly who fills the situation in which I have ■ honour to be placed, should anxiously wish for ■ personal communication with your Lordship; and, you will find, by a letter which I wrote yesterday ■ Lord-Lieutenant, that ■ only deferred making that request, or, rather desiring it ■

not be complied with, until you should be fully prepared to satisfy the object of it. But by what I have the satisfaction to learn from Mr. Wickham, there is reason to suppose that you are possessed of all the information I wished you to procure, I have corrected the paragraph of my letter to the Lord-Lieutenant, by requesting your immediate presence in the country, which I hope you will have no objection or scruple in complying with, and I may indulge the expectation of seeing you here by the middle of the next week.

I have the honour to be, &c,

PORTLAND.

Draft of a Despatch to the Duke of Portland for the consideration of the Lord-Lieutenant.

November —, 1798.

My Lord—As your Grace and the King's confidential person may be informed minutely of the steps which I have felt it my duty to take in consequence of your Grace's despatch of the — instant, enclosing heads of a Union between the two kingdoms, I am induced to be the more circumstantial in my communications on this most important object given me in charge.

In obedience to your Grace's instructions, I lost no time in opening the subject to the persons of the first consideration in the kingdom who happened to be within my reach. Lord Castlereagh was also, by my directions, communicated with others, of considerable in point of situation, but whose active support was scarcely of less importance to the success of the Union. I am myself justified in stating to your Grace that, as far as I have yet gone, there appears to me no general repugnance to the Union of a Union. Some persons, as might naturally have been expected, are more strongly impressed with the disadvantages than its advantages; and there are persons of very great consideration, whose support I may say is beyond my power ultimately to obtain; but, upon the whole,

there ■■■■ disposition to ■■■■ question coolly, ■■■■ many, notwithstanding their reluctance to ■■■■ absolute ■■■■ their intentions at ■■■■ early a stage of the business, have not hesitated to assure me of their readiness to give it ■■■■ support.

As your Grace may wish ■■■■ informed of the particular sentiments of the most leading characters, I think ■■■■ necessary ■■■■ mention that Lord Shannon,¹ to whom I ■■■■ myself, is impressed in the strongest ■■■■ with the difficulties and disadvantages of the present system, ■■■■ disposed ■■■■ entertain the ■■■■ favourably: ■■■■ the same time, ■■■■ Lordship wishes ■■■■ declare himself openly ■■■■ he sees that ■■■■ doing so ■■■■ purpose.

Lord Ely² (relying on the favour of the Crown in ■■■■ object personal to himself) is prepared to give it his utmost support.

Lord Pery³ expressed strong doubts upon the question itself, and much apprehension ■■■■ the division of sentiment it ■■■■ occasion might, at the present moment, be injurious to the public safety. His Lordship, in a subsequent conversation with Lord Castlereagh, said he should certainly *not pledge himself* hastily against it; and, should the ■■■■ in progress receive such a support from Parliament and from the country as justified perseverance on the part of ministers, he should feel it his duty to surrender ■■■■ opinion, and give ■■■■ assistance in the detail.

Lord Yelverton⁴ ■■■■ hesitation upon the principle: it ■■■■ his full approbation.

¹ Richard, second Earl. He was created a British Peer by the title of ■■■■ in 1786.

² The Right Honourable Charles Tottenham, created 1785 Baron Loftus, ■■■■ Viscount Loftus, ■■■■ of Ely.

³ He had filled the Speaker's chair in the Irish House of Commons 1771 to 1785, in ■■■■ year he was created Viscount Pery.

⁴ Barry Yelverton, Attorney-general of Ireland in 1782, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1784, and raised to the Peers in 1795 as ■■■■ Yelverton, ■■■■ Avonmore.

■■■ expressed himself guardedly, but appeared to have no particular objection to the idea.

Lord Carleton¹ professed not to have considered the question with much attention, but at present saw many difficulties, ■■■ perhaps might disappear upon further investigation.

Mr. Conolly had always been a decided friend to a Union, and was ready to give it his best assistance.

■■■ Attorney and Solicitor-General very well disposed.

The Duke of Leinster,² to whom I felt it ■■■ duty to mention the measure, was reserved, and seemed disinclined to give ■■■ opinion, which I ■■■ think it necessary to press ■■■ from his Grace.

The sentiments of the several other persons who have hitherto been communicated with, are, upon the whole, favourable; but I have not yet sounded a sufficient number to enable me to judge of the disposition of the Parliament ■■■ large.

Having put your Grace in possession of the opinion of some of the leading persons now in town, as far as their minds are yet made up on the question, ■■■ should wish to give your Grace ■■■ information, were it in my power, how the public ■■■ large are disposed to it. As yet the measure is not sufficiently understood, ■■■ has it been brought into general discussion, so as to enable me to form any correct judgment on this point. Measures will be taken in the course of a few days to bring the general principle into consideration in the most favourable point of view.

I have reason to hope that the inhabitants of Munster, but particularly the citizens of Cork, ■■■ partial ■■■ the ■■■

¹ Arthur Wolfe, Solicitor-general of Ireland in 1787, Attorney-general 1789, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench in 1798, and the same year created Baron Kilwarden of Newlands.

² Hugh Carleton, Solicitor-general of Ireland in 1779, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas 1787, created Baron Carleton in 1789, and Viscount Carleton in 1797.

³ ■■■ Robert, ■■■ Duke, ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ Edward Fitzgerald.

principal opposition be expected in Dublin, rather, as the fears of decay incident to a metropolis will be allayed by the activity of the Communications have taken place and applications been made to the Sheriffs, to call an aggregate meeting of the City as soon as the measure is avowed, to which they have consented. The Bar also have it in contemplation to meet.

Every endeavour has been, and shall be used, to keep back, if possible, opposition till the question has been more discussed and is better understood. Already the repugnance of the Bar has, in some degree, been softened; and I entertain a sanguine hope that, if the country can be prevented from pledging itself precipitately, all classes of the community may be awakened to a sense of its advantages.

Your Grace may depend on my utmost efforts being directed to the furtherance of this great work, so important to preserve the kingdom in connection with Great Britain; and I do not fail to communicate to your Grace the particulars of my progress in the execution of the task confided to me.

I have the honour, &c.,

Mr. Castlereagh to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

Cleveland Square, November, 1798.

My Lord Castlereagh—Your letter of the 19th was six days in coming, and I had not till yesterday an opportunity of sounding the Duke of Portland's sentiments on the subject alluded to in it. You are, I hope, mistaken in thinking the Duke retains any jealousy of the policy of the original measure adopted with respect to the State prison. All the conversations I have had with him on that topic justify me in believing he is now perfectly satisfied of the advantages which have resulted from your administration. He is, however, decidedly for the plan of strict custody; and, as his despatch was written in a dis-

of point the Cabinet, I do most earnestly recommend to you not to take any step which may at all deviate from what he recommended, without a full regular communication with him. For my own part, I cannot conceive any danger would be likely to accrue from the exile of the under the precautions you suggest; and it would certainly be for the dignity of Government to be guided by the liberal construction of the agreement. Nevertheless, you must relax the rigour of their confinement warranted by the opinion of Government conveyed in the Duke of Portland's despatch, and it should excite any clamour, you might be brought into an embarrassing predicament, unless there should be previous official correspondence. I carefully concealed from the Duke of Portland that I had heard from you on this matter, as he is very sore about the want of official communication from Ireland. It would give me concern that this circumstance should reach Lord Cornwallis's ear, because I know his knowledge of it would not tend to heal the wound. I am confident that, if despatches of the nature I mentioned in a former letter were regularly transmitted to the Duke, it would be the means of restoring harmony where it is much wanted. You, perhaps, might contrive to suggest the expediency of this sort of correspondence to Lord Cornwallis, without giving him an impression that there is any coldness or misunderstanding on the part of the Duke of Portland.

I do not know whether Mr. Pitt has seen the Speaker within these few days. Both Pitt and the Duke of Portland are sanguine on the issue of the Union.

Farewell. I am called away, which I regret, as I wished to write at length to you by this post. I shall, however, certainly write again to-morrow.

Ever yours most truly, W. E.

P.S. I return Emmett's letter.

Mr. [redacted] to Lord Castlereagh.

[redacted] Square, November [redacted] 1798.

My dear Lord Castlereagh — Since I wrote yesterday, [redacted] Mr. Pitt [redacted] another interview with the Speaker, which, however, [redacted] terminated in nothing decisive. He [redacted] also [redacted] Parnell,¹ but I understand their conversation was [redacted] all conclusive. Parnell, I should guess, is certainly to be gained; [redacted] I wish Pitt had begun to treat with him [redacted]. Since the [redacted] is embarked in, I feel anxious for [redacted]. Even on its present narrow and contracted basis, I believe it will be productive of advantage to the Empire. If the Catholics [redacted] wise, they will acquiesce in it; but I [redacted] afraid we have left them ground of complaint. I cannot be easily persuaded that, if [redacted] firmness had been displayed here [redacted] first, [redacted] Union might not have been accomplished, including the admission of the Catholic claims; but Mr. Pitt has, with [redacted] lamentable facility, yielded this point to *prejudice*, without, I suspect, acquiring a support in any degree equivalent to the sacrifice. Thus a question tending to generate dissension remains open, when it might have been closed for ever.

My sentiments on this topic were not unknown [redacted] you before my departure from Dublin, and, I must confess, they are rather confirmed than changed; and they must, I fear, determine [redacted] withdraw from my present situation. At the same time, I do [redacted] sincerely assure you that my wishes are [redacted] tirely [redacted] other way. At this critical conjuncture, I [redacted] help feeling an anxiety to remain at my post under your banner. I [redacted] retain the most earnest solicitude [redacted] the [redacted] of Lord Cornwallis's Government, [redacted] the duration of which I am fully convinced [redacted] prosperity of [redacted] Empire depends; and the friendship I have formed with you has given me, in point of society, [redacted] in Ireland I [redacted] expected

¹ Sir John Parnell, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer.

to acquire. In the various discussions on the Union, however, the [redacted] question will, of course, be brought forward; [redacted] since, after the most mature consideration, [redacted] reconcile the [redacted] of the Catholics to any principle, either of justice or of sound policy, [redacted] is quite impossible for me to vote against a proposition for [redacted] admission of their claims.¹

If I could stay away from [redacted] House when the question [redacted] [redacted] (and it may [redacted] agitated frequently), [redacted] would [redacted] a right to look for similar indulgence on [redacted] convenient [redacted] sions, [redacted] my example could [redacted] [redacted] of operating injuriously [redacted] Government in the progress of a [redacted] no part of which will probably be carried, without the enforcement of [redacted] *Parliamentary discipline*. To avoid, therefore, this difficulty, [redacted] other embarrassments arising from the [redacted] source, [redacted] have, after much serious reflection, resolved to beg the Lord-Lieutenant's permission to retire, and propose writing [redacted] him either by [redacted] day's or to-morrow's post. You may, perhaps, [redacted] I have been dilatory [redacted] forming my decision [redacted] this subject; but I waited, in order to ascertain the principle on which the Union [redacted] to be proposed, and I [redacted] unacquainted with the [redacted] given to the Chancellor until it [redacted] [redacted] municated to [redacted] in the letters which I received from Lord Cornwallis and yourself in the middle of the [redacted] week. It may, perhaps, be deemed desirable that [redacted] should settle [redacted] deliver [redacted] [redacted] business of the office to my successor; and, in this case, I shall with great pleasure stay in Ireland till the approach of the Session, and [redacted] postpone the private business [redacted] I [redacted] hither to adjust until my return.

As the Duke of Portland has written to the Lord-Lieutenant, to request your coming to England, I hope to see you shortly, and beg you will let me know when we may expect you.

There is no news. I am afraid Austria will delay the com-

¹ Mr. Elliot had a seat in the Parliament of Ireland.

menagement of hostilities till the last moment; and, if possible, will, I suppose, make peace. I hope peace, however, will not be practicable to her.

Farewell, my dear Lord Castlereagh. Remember me in the most affectionate manner to Lady Castlereagh, and believe me, most unalterably yours,

W. E.

Lord Castlereagh to the Bishop of Ossory.

Phoenix Park, [redacted] 26, [redacted]

My dear Lord—Your Lordship is, no doubt, acquainted with the general aspect of affairs on this side of the water. Our progress, on a particular subject, has not yet been sufficient to enable me to judge with precision of the difficulties we shall have to encounter. That they must be considerable in the nature of the question. But I see no reason to apprehend that, with firmness and perseverance, they may not be surmounted.

The strong interest your Lordship takes in the [redacted] of [redacted] measure, [redacted] the very important services your Lordship [redacted] enabled to render in its proceeding, will, I trust, justify and excuse me to your Lordship in expressing a very [redacted] desire [redacted] see you in this kingdom as early as your Lordship can make it compatible with your domestic arrangements.

I have [redacted] honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to Lord Longueville.¹

[redacted] Park, November [redacted] 1798

My [redacted] Lord—My Lord-Lieutenant much regrets your absence [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] the present moment. [redacted] Excellency

¹ Richard Longfield, Esq., of Longueville, created in 1795 Baron Longueville.

would have wished to converse with your Lordship on the measure of strengthening our connexion with Great Britain by a Legislative Union, [redacted] pledges the whole force [redacted] resources of the Empire to the security of every part, and [redacted] support which [redacted] now receive [redacted] of favour, an [redacted] of duty, [redacted] the part of England. The subject [redacted] too [redacted] for a letter. I should be glad to communicate freely [redacted] your Lordship [redacted] this most important question, [redacted] am [redacted] desirous of knowing your Lordship's sentiments, which [redacted] [redacted] to have the greatest weight in the south, particularly [redacted] Cork.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh [redacted] *Right Hon. Sir Lawrence Parsons, Bart.*¹

[redacted] Park, November [redacted], 1798.

My dear Sir—The disposition I know you [redacted] to consider deeply every proposition affecting the public interests [redacted] me, whatever may be your final decision, that you will coolly investigate the great question which has of late occupied the attention of the Governments of both countries.

The times require that we should, if possible, strengthen [redacted] empire as well [redacted] this kingdom. We [redacted] present require, [redacted] shall continue, I fear, to require, a larger military force than our own resources can supply. There [redacted] be little doubt that a Union, on [redacted] and liberal principles, [redacted] with the goodwill of [redacted] kingdoms, would strengthen [redacted] Empire; [redacted] there can be as little question [redacted] Ireland would [redacted] more [redacted] the [redacted] of England pledged [redacted] her by incorporation than [redacted] they [redacted] present, but [redacted] favour.

[redacted] complexion of our [redacted] system [redacted] most unpleasant; [redacted] strongly tinged with religious animosity, and likely to

¹ Member in the Irish Parliament for the University of Dublin, and subsequently for King's County.

more ■ United ■ England, the Protestants, feeling less exposed, would become more confident and liberal; and ■ would have ■ inducement to look beyond ■ indulgence, which is consistent with ■ security of our ■

■ should be happy to communicate with you at large on this interesting ■ question. May I hope ■ see you in town? I know the Lord-Lieutenant ■ very desirous of seeing you upon it. In the hope that you may be ■ to ■ it convenient, I shall only add ■ of the respect with which I ■, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to Sir George Fitzgerald Hill, Bart.¹

Phoenix Park, December 1, 1798.

My dear Hill—It ■ a circumstance of peculiar satisfaction to ■ that you ■ at present at Derry. The public sentiment at ■ critical moment cannot be in more discreet and judicious hands. As to argument on the question, the pamphlet which I enclose is a magazine of the first materials; reprint it ■ Derry, and circulate it as widely ■ possible; discourage warmth ■ early declarations ■ either side; keep the public mind in a deliberate state; and ■ am sanguine enough to hope the event must be favourable. Derry, under its present guidance, has long been the counterpoise to Belfast, and the rallying point for the loyalty of the North. I ■ ■ good ■ will be equally distinguished ■ the momentous question ■ are ■ called ■ to consider. ■ have the utmost reliance on your address, influence, and zeal.

I ■ with great regard,

CASTLEREAGH.

¹ Member for Derry, and Colonel of the Londonderry Militia, married to Jane, third daughter of the Rt. Hon. John Beresford, and niece of the Marquess of Waterford.

Lord Castlereagh to Hon. George Ogle.

_____ Park, December 4, 1798.

My dear Sir—I made an attempt to see you last Friday, _____ my letter found you _____ of town. I _____ very desirous of communicating with you on the important question _____ present under consideration in _____ countries. As I know no member of _____ Legislature who more anxiously and zealously endeavours to strengthen _____ constitution in Church _____ State, I _____ induced to hope _____ you will _____ the importance of incorporating _____ representation with the Protestant Legislature of Great Britain, thereby making _____ establishments correspondent to _____ population, and pledging for _____ the strength of the Empire to their permanent security. Nothing but the strongest sense of duty would induce the Government of either country to encounter a measure of such difficulty at such _____ moment. They feel it essential to their joint interests, and, therefore, do not shrink from the undertaking.

I shall _____ happy to avail myself of the first opportunity of communicating with you more in detail _____ this important question.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

_____ Park, _____ 5, 1798.

My Lord—Since _____ last had the honour of addressing your Grace _____ the subject of the Union, I have had _____ opportunity of extending my communications with individuals, _____ of observing, in _____ degree, the first impressions produced on the public mind by the agitation of this important question.

_____ beg leave to refer your Grace _____ Lord Castlereagh (whom, I trust, I shall be enabled _____ despatch from hence to-morrow evening) _____ the particular _____ of the several persons who have been sounded, since I _____ your Grace, on

the measure. The general result enables me to state my opinion stated to your Grace in my despatch of the —, that the prevailing disposition amongst those with whom I have had communication is to entertain the question dispassionately, and to rest their decision upon the merits of the arrangements when detailed, rather than to reject the principle of the —.

The opponents of the Union are desirous to prevent the discussion of the subject, and leave the question untried to submit the public, in the first instance, against the measure, as subversive of the Constitution; and, such, not to be entertained. They have been taken to represent an acquiescence in the principle as a violation of the oath of a yeoman, in which he swears to support and maintain the "*Constitution of this Kingdom as by law established.*"

The Bar have been forward in their opposition, and have been day assembled as a corps, it is understood, with an intention of taking up the question. Should that learned body be so intemperate as to set an example to the yeomanry at large, unconstitutional in the extreme, and dangerous to the public safety, I shall feel myself called on, in the outset, to meet their attempt to overawe the King's Government and the Legislature with decision.

I am happy to observe that the leading Catholics, notwithstanding the measure is understood by them to be unconnected with any immediate extension of constitutional privileges to their communion, express themselves highly in its favour. Lord Fingall,¹ whose good sense is distinguished as an attachment to his Majesty's Government and to the British connection, expressed much satisfaction that it should not be to complicate the question of Union by attempting, at present, any change in the Laws. He considers it would be injurious to the Catholics to have them in the present temper of the Parliament, and

¹ Arthur James, eighth Earl.

tion. Some of the King's [redacted] to be amongst the [redacted] impracticable in [redacted] opinions, [redacted] I [redacted] confident [redacted] your Grace will leave no means untried to impress these gentlemen [redacted] favourably [redacted] their return [redacted] kingdom.

[redacted] have the honour, &c., C.

PS. I am happy to inform your Grace that [redacted] good [redacted] of the Bar has prevailed, and that the meeting has dispersed; [redacted] being [redacted] decided opinion of the majority that any deliberation [redacted] [redacted] question [redacted] political measure, in their military capacity, [redacted] highly criminal. [redacted] the failure of this attempt to make it a question of arms will secure us against any interference of a similar description. A general [redacted] meeting is summoned, [redacted] understand, for Sunday next.

Rt. Hon. Isaac Corry to Lord Castlereagh.

My dear Lord—I send you enclosed a note, stating the proceedings of the Bar on Sunday. I won't take up your time with any observations, other than to say I have [redacted] a draft of a Protest or Statement [redacted] the subject. Cooke, who dined with me to-day, has seen it here.

Your faithful, obedient servant,

ISAAC CORRY.

Mr. McClelland [redacted] Rt. Hon. Isaac Corry.

Temple Street, Sunday evening, December 9, 1798

My dear Corry—As I am [redacted] you [redacted] anxious [redacted] know [redacted] result of [redacted] meeting to-day, I will give you a hasty sketch of our proceedings. [redacted] intended to have called on you for the purpose, but professional business [redacted] prevented me. We [redacted] about twelve o'clock, and broke [redacted] about six. Saurin opened [redacted] debate, by proposing a Resolution that “the measure of a Legislative Union of this kingdom and Great [redacted] [redacted] innovation which it would [redacted] highly dangerous [redacted] improper

to propose ■ the present juncture to this country." This motion was artfully calculated to avoid giving an express opinion on the question of a Union ; ■ ■ time, ■ public might be induced to ■ that ■ had given ■ an opinion. ■ avowed such ■ be his object, by expressing, in ■ terms, ■ aversion to ■ Union, ■ his hopes that, by ■ resolutions throughout the kingdom, the ■ might ■ frustrated. ■ ■ seconded by Spencer. ■ George Daly then proposed an adjournment for ■ month, in order ■ avoid ■ premature discussion of ■ question.

■ motion ■ followed by several violent harangues, some of ■ pronounced by men *notoriously disaffected*. These republicans (as might be expected) inveighed violently against the insidious views of Great Britain and its ministers, and attributed all ■ misfortunes to that source. I seized ■ opportunity of speaking immediately after ■ of these violent agitators ; and, after reprobating ■ strongly ■ I could the language they ■ held, and the ■ in which they ■ debated the question, I called upon the meeting to join with ■ in the sentiment that this kingdom must stand ■ with ■ Britain, and that whoever ventured to hint at a separation of them ■ an enemy to his country. This proposition ■ received with the warmest approbation.

Having thus roused the loyalty of the meeting, I urged, as strongly ■ I could, the ■ which occurred to me for postponing the discussion of the subject, until ■ hear the intended terms of the Union, or whether the ■ would in ■ shape be brought before Parliament. I flattered myself on sitting down with ■ considerable support, but some desultory speeches afterwards drove away many who would have voted with ■ On the division, thirty-two voted for ■ adjournment, and a hundred and sixty against it. The Resolution was then carried by ■ same majority.

■ ■ a defeat far beyond what I expected ; however, I hope we may in some measure defeat the great effect expected

to be produced by it. Daly and I intend bringing forward a protest against the Resolution, which will be signed by many present at the meeting. I foresee that, in withstanding and opposing the violence of the opposite party, I shall be held a marked object for censure and misrepresentation. I have already felt a good deal of this kind of conduct towards me; however, they shall not thereby deter me from opposing their views. I will tell you more of this when I see you.

Excuse my hasty sketch of our debate, believe me,

Yours sincerely,

JAMES M'OLELLAND.

The Earl of Londonderry to Lord Castlereagh.

Stewart, December 10, 1798.

Dear Castlereagh—You desire me, in your last, before sailing, to write to you in London on the subject of the Union, and let you know how it is relished in the North. Lord Camden lately expressed the same wish, which induced me to send him a farrago, chiefly from my own brains, as I have had very little opportunity of collecting the opinions of others; and, since possibly he may show it to you, I shall repeat any thing I said to him. Few in this county know that the question is positively to be agitated, and of course it is not talked of seriously, nor with much earnestness. I have given the pamphlet you sent to some few to read, but have heard none argue with any keenness either for or against: Counsellor Johnson, I am told, speaks in approbation of it; Mr. Craufurd: this I do not expect; but, as others of a certain description look up to them as political guides, I infer the popular current will not be very strong in the North against the Union. I conclude most of those who were actuated with a strong reforming spirit entertain such an antipathy to the present subsisting state of the country, that they will be very adverse to any change

that will rid them of what they deem so very corrupt a legislature. Craufurd's opinion ■■■ be adopted by many of the Belfast people, for it will ■■■ further ■ recommend it, ■ idea of an influx of wealth, from a more extensive and flourishing commerce, of which ■■■ is ■■■ have a principal share. The lower order of manufacturers ■■■ farmers, unless ■■■ going by the upper ranks, ■■■ themselves little ■■■ ■■■. Cholland tells ■■■ he has written ■ you ■■■ Friday, not knowing of your sailing, ■ say ■■■ ■■■ presented to prosecute ■ the State prisoners confined in Belfast, or whose names he returned, a very few excepted, unless they, in ■■■ month after notice, ■■■ ■■■ transport themselves ■ America. ■■■ intimation, I believe, ■ operating upon Steel Dickson, ■ Mathews tells me he hears from Portaferry ■■■ he intends going to America. Having got this hold ■■■ them, I think Government ■■■ force them all to leave the country.

Dear Castlereagh,

Ever your affectionate Father,

LONDONDERRY.

Mr. Cooke ■ Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, December 11, 1798.

My dear Lord—We have a good ■■■ of natural ferment in town among bankers, merchants, &c., who are to have a meeting ■■■ Tuesday next.

I hear of an adverse Hunting Club ■■■ Dundalk, and some disposition to ■■■ ■■■ Armagh.

The violent ■■■ very violent. No publications yet ■■■ are ■■■ entirely contemptible.

The Bucks ■■■ are determined ■■■ return: Lord Buckingham made ■■■ speech—only 200 would stay. They have ■■■ great numbers by sickness, and the ■■■ ■■■ frightened.

The Protest is going on. ■■■ was drawn by William Smyth,

who was affronted with Saurin for not asking his opinion as to calling ■■■ meeting of the Bar.

There is a ■■■ ■■■ Spencer: they think by a Mr. Johnson, of the Bar.

Would the Star and Courier receive papers for a Union?

I do not yet know what the Catholics will do.

I could wish you would promise leave for M'Nevin, O'Connor, and Emmett, to go to the Continent, and settle something ■■■ Tenders.

Ever, my dear Lord, &c.,

E. COOKE.

Mr. John Claudius Beresford¹ to Lord Castlereagh.

December 12, 1798.

My dear Lord—I should have called ■■■ you before you ■■■ Ireland, to converse with you on the sentiments of those two bodies of people in Ireland, on whose opinions you did ■■■ the honour of consulting me, but I waited for the meeting of the Aldermen of Skinners' Alley, of which I ■■■ Governor, and which consists of a great number of freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, and to which every loyal member of the Corporation of the City belongs; as I knew I should be there ■■■ likely to hear the sentiments of the citizens of Dublin, the society being as much an exclusively political one ■■■ can possibly exist in Ireland, where you know they always mix their politics with *their liquor*, and declare their sentiments by their toasts.

■■■ meeting took place on the 4th, and the universal opinion of every person was against the measure, and violently against it, except ■■■ Alderman James, who ■■■ nothing openly, ■■■ whispered me that ■■■ thought it ■■■ only chance ■■■ Protestants had: the other citizens of Dublin, ■■■ is, I mean ■■■ bankers ■■■ merchants whose business keeps them out of the way of these clubs, ■■■ who have not the ■■■ in-

¹ Son of the Right Hon. John Beresford, and a banker of Dublin.

■■■ attend them ■■■ I have, are about ■■■ declare their sentiments in ■■■ open manner, they having called on the Lord Mayor to summon ■■■ meeting ■■■ the Mansion ■■■ ■■■ purpose, which he ■■■ consented to do, and ■■■ Tuesday next, and ■■■ parties who have signed that requisition have agreed to ■■■ together ■■■ Monday, ■■■ plan of acting ■■■ the other meeting. I will be ■■■ both meetings, and will write to you after each of them. I think there will ■■■ some violent debating there.

■■■ opinions of the other body of men, I mean, the Orangemen of Dublin, I cannot ■■■ accurately tell, as it has been my principal ■■■ ■■■ all times to prevent them from debating political questions, which would be very dangerous ■■■ ■■■ community where their numbers ■■■ ■■■ great, that ■■■ should ■■■ actually reduced to that miserable situation of being governed by clubs, which, ■■■ my mind, has been the cause of half the ■■■ of France. But, talking to them individually at the monthly meeting, which was the first Wednesday of ■■■ month, I found them mostly adverse to the measure, ■■■ gentleman attempted to introduce ■■■ debate ■■■ the subject, which I immediately put a stop to. I would by ■■■ means advise you not to attempt to procure declarations from them; ■■■ ■■■ to ■■■ they ■■■ not be on the ■■■ you wish, and, if they should even, you will lay a dangerous precedent.

As I have so fully talked to you on the sentiments of other persons, and the conduct they are likely to pursue, I will say a few words to you ■■■ my own. I feel myself bound by the opinions of my constituents, ■■■ by the local injury I am convinced the city of Dublin will receive by it, to oppose it. At the ■■■ time, I am by no ■■■ competent to judge whether the ■■■ will ■■■ of general utility or not, nor ■■■ I ■■■ Cabinet Ministers in England are ■■■ persons ■■■ judge of it, being thoroughly satisfied of their ignorance of ■■■ internal situation of the country. However, this much I

am clear of, that nothing could be more injurious to Ireland, whether the motion [redacted] or not, than [redacted] suffer [redacted] jealousies of the people of either country [redacted] be increased by it; and, [redacted] it was in my power to be of the slightest assistance in [redacted] desirable end, I mean the maintaining of good humour between the two countries, let the question turn which way it will, [redacted] be extremely happy. If you think my continuing to write to you can be of any service, drop me a single line to say so in answer to this. I [redacted] not look for an answer to any other letter I may write you on the subject, [redacted] I [redacted] [redacted] more of business than ceremony, and [redacted] convinced you have no time [redacted] throw away.

Believe me, my dear Lord, yours truly,
J. O. BERNESFORD.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, December 16, 1798.

My dear Lord—Dublin violence increases. Pamphlets swarm—one or two good. A private meeting to-day of Catholics. I hear the body are not ill-inclined, and, where immediate private interest does not clash, will not oppose. Do not yet be certain. Lord Fingall wavered the other day.

The Dublin argument is this: Absenteeism will increase—interest of the debt to England will increase—and we cannot bear the drain. Our manufactures will be ruined by putting an end to duties between the two countries. All the proprietors in [redacted] must be injured. We [redacted] [redacted] liable to [redacted] debts, &c.

Some detailed plan is necessary to obviate [redacted] language. Can the potion be sweetened for Dublin?

I have nothing from the North. I wish your return much.

All the Buckingham stay till April, [redacted] most of [redacted] Hertford's. There has been much [redacted]

Barrington¹ ■ writing—Bushe² is writing—Jebb³ ■ writing—all against.

The ■■■■■ ■ Spencer ■ by William Johnson. I hope you ■■■ the Lawyers' Protest. The Lawyers' debate is ■■■ question. I hope the subject will not be in the Speech, but by separate Message.

■■■■■ ■ dissolution take place previously ■■■ ■■■■ discussion of the subject?

No packets have sailed hence ■■■ week, and none have been received these ■■■ days.

■■■■ robberies and murders ■ Kildare and Wicklow.

Would the Star and Courier fight for ■ Union by abusing the Orangemen and praising Lord Cornwallis?

Ever most truly, &c.,

E. COOKE.

Mr. Alexander Knox⁴ to Lord Castlereagh.

Friday Night, *post* Twelve.

My dear Lord—I sit down to write, though I fear the embargo laid on the packet-boats by the “bleak north-east” is not yet over. We have now for three days been ■■■ ■■■ from communication;—happily for us the times ■■■ such ■■■ make it of little consequence.

Yesterday, there ■■■ ■ meeting of the Masters of the Orange Lodges in ■■■ city, and they came to ■ resolution that, having associated merely to resist insurrection, it ■■■ ■■■ become them ■■■ interfere with respect to any other political concern; and that, though they did not individually pledge themselves to

¹ Sir Jonah Barrington, M.P., King's Counsel, and Judge of the Court of Admiralty.

² ■■■■ Bushe, M.P., an eminent barrister, afterwards ■■■■ General, and Chief-Justice of Ireland.

³ Richard Jebb, also a member of the Irish Parliament. His pamphlet was in answer to ■■■ Cooke's “Arguments for and against a Union.”

⁴ Assistant Private Secretary to Lord Castlereagh.

any side on the Union, and should hold themselves at liberty to come forward on the subject in their towns and counties as freeholders, yet that, as Orangemen, they be perfectly neuter, and take no step whatever. A strong Orangeman who visited me this morning (John Hill, George's brother,) thinks this to be universally adopted.

I received last night a letter from Mr. Black, the Dissenting Minister of Derry, enclosing one from Mr. Cuming of Armagh. I find that both were much pleased with the *Pamphlet*,¹ and hurt at a misstatement of the present prevailing sentiment of the Presbyterians relative to the differences between them and the establishment. This, however, will very easily be set right. I consider these two men's approbation of the substance of that pamphlet no symptom of the disposition of the Presbyterians of the North.

Bushe, Barrington, and Mr. Jebb are forth in print tomorrow. Surely all Bedlam, not Parnassus, is let out. Notwithstanding all this rage, I have little doubt that liberal terms and discreet management will bring forward a muster of men of no personal feelings, (but who wish for tranquillity for the country, and merely fair play for themselves) who will much outvote the political Stentors who are bellowing to the high heavens. *Delet dicæ commenta, confirmat judicium*, such expression, is the sentiment of Cicero: I think it shall be verified in the present instance, notwithstanding the clamour of tongues. The worst of it is that many of the strongest points cannot be brought before the public. I have spent this peculiarly busy day or two, while endeavouring to write upon this subject; and I find it infinitely easier to say what I think than to say merely what ought to be said abroad into the world. Farewell, my good Lord, and believe me, &c.,

ALEXANDER KNOX.

¹ I doubt, Mr. Cooke's pamphlet, "Arguments for and against a Union,"

Mr. Cooke at Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, ~~January~~ 17, ~~1798~~

My dear Lord—There was a Catholic meeting of thirty-seven leading men at Lord Fingall's on Saturday. Lord Kenmare ~~sent~~ a letter to the meeting, expressing ~~his~~ ~~views~~ as decidedly ~~in~~ favour of Union. Mr. Donellan ~~was~~ against it, Mr. Bellew not decided. There ~~was~~ no division, but ~~an~~ adjournment ~~on~~ Saturday next. Many thought ~~it~~ ~~was~~ to oppose a measure which was opposed by their enemies, the Orangemen. On the whole, the appearance favourable.

Bellew called on Marsden to-day, and gave ~~him~~ a general account, and seemed cool, but undecided. ~~He~~ thought he wished to be talked to. Bellew talked much of the Speaker.

I talked much to Mr. Simon Maguire, who was formerly a leader. ~~He~~ thinks nothing ~~of~~ Union ~~in~~ the country. ~~He~~ says nothing ~~can~~ exceed the rancour of parties, and that ~~it~~ ~~is~~ gradually increasing. He says that Lord Cornwallis's conduct has, in ~~his~~ opinion, saved the country hitherto, but that, unless a Union is made, there will be a general burst in a few years, and a separation. He conceives the Catholics are in general well inclined.

~~The~~ corporation of Dublin ~~is~~ furious. They passed the enclosed Resolutions to-day unanimously; and Alexander tells me ~~that~~ ~~he~~ ~~sent~~ a Requisition with the Lord Mayor, desiring his Lordship to call a Post Assembly to address the King, to recommend ~~to~~ Lord Cornwallis to take ~~the~~ active measures ~~to~~ prevent ~~the~~ and persons who have protections from plundering ~~the~~ murdering his Majesty's loyal subjects.

This ~~is~~ ~~an~~ excellent tail-piece. Pamphlets swarm. They ~~are~~ "Cease your fanning" ~~in~~ Barrington's. Jebb's ~~is~~ moderate and good, and admits a great deal to the purpose.

Bellew ~~at~~ Marsden ~~has~~ he heard the United ~~men~~ conceived bringing forward a Union was playing their game.

I trust your Lordship and Beresford will come home as soon as possible.

I am ever, &c.,

E. COOKE.

Keatinge writes in favour of a Union.

Blake has written to you that, in case a Union is to be proposed, he may take the sense of the County.

It is said that he knew [redacted] excluding the [redacted] from the object, viz., the Legislature, [redacted] imposed on the Cabinet from hence.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, [redacted] 18, [redacted]

My dear Lord—I enclose the Resolutions of the Bankers and Merchants, which are well conceived, and very strong. Digges Latouche moved, John C. Beresford seconded; the [redacted] Directors were present. Only the [redacted] and seconder spoke.

I am sorry to say our situation does not mend. We hear of trees being cut in Tipperary and Wexford; and I hear that in Down and Antrim there are bad symptoms. Robberies, murders, and burnings continue; last night, the sentries on the bridges were fired at.

This day Sirr took up a man of the name of Farrell, who went down with Dobbs into the County of Wicklow. He had a dagger with him, and a large bundle of papers, similar to [redacted] enclosed.

Dr. Drennan is writing, and he transmits his [redacted] to [redacted] published by Stewart, in London. It is either Daniel [redacted] who [redacted] as a soliciting lawyer in England, and [redacted] concerned in a London newspaper,¹ [redacted] one of [redacted] Stewarts.

I think the enclosed pamphlet is the only [redacted] which contains any solid argument, or goes rightly into the subject.

Ever [redacted] truly [redacted] faithfully,

E. COOKE.

¹ In the Courier, of which he was Editor, I believe.

*Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors and Members
of the Bank*

At a numerous and respectable Meeting of the Directors and Members of Dublin, held at the Mansion House on Tuesday, December 18, 1798, the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor in the Chair, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

Resolved that, since the renunciation in the year 1782 of the power of Great Britain to legislate for Ireland, the prosperity of this kingdom have eminently increased :

Resolved, that we attribute these blessings, under Providence and the gracious favour of our beloved Sovereign, to the wisdom of the Irish Parliament :

Resolved, that we look with abhorrence on any attempt to deprive the people of Ireland of their Parliament, and thereby of their constitution and immediate power of legislating for themselves :

Resolved that, impressed with every sentiment of loyalty to our King, and affectionate attachment to British connexion, we conceive that to agitate in Parliament a question of Legislative Union between this kingdom and Great Britain would be highly dangerous and impolitic :

Resolved unanimously, that the Lord Mayor be requested to sign these Resolutions in the name of the Bankers and Merchants of Dublin, and that the same be published in all public papers.

Wm. Digges Latouche, Esq., proposed the Resolutions ; J. C. Berensford, Esq., seconded them. No other person spoke.

*Lord Castlereagh to the Earl of Leitrim.*¹

St. James's Square, December 19, 1798

My dear Lord—The Lord-Lieutenant gave it me in command, before I left Ireland, to take the earliest opportunity of

¹ See Clements, Earl of Leitrim.

seeing your Lordship, and [redacted] to you the general matters [redacted] the measure which the King's Ministers have in contemplation, for giving additional strength [redacted] security [redacted] establishments, by uniting [redacted] countries, on [redacted] and liberal terms, in one kingdom. I cannot, I fear, stop to see your Lordship before I leave England, my stay being necessarily [redacted] to a very [redacted] days; but I shall [redacted] to be favoured with the first possible occasion you [redacted] afford me of communicating with your Lordship upon this most interesting and important subject.

I have [redacted] honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, December 19, 1798.

My dear Lord—Bellew [redacted] with Marsden to-day. [redacted] said there would be a large meeting of Catholics [redacted] Saturday; that they expected he would move a resolution; but he understood Lord Cornwallis [redacted] expressed [redacted] wish that no step should be taken at present—that, for his [redacted] part, [redacted] seeing that any particular benefit [redacted] held out for [redacted] Union to the Catholics, he had intended to move that, [redacted] [redacted] the Catholics [redacted] concerned, [redacted] Union [redacted] inexpedient; that he wished not [redacted] do anything unpleasant to the Government; that he thought, if he [redacted] not propose anything, no one else would; and that he was not indisposed to adjourn [redacted] decision, if recommended.

I shall [redacted] Lord Cornwallis upon this point. [redacted] is [redacted] on [redacted] to-morrow. Symptoms of disturbance increase.

Ever [redacted] truly, &c.,

E. COOKE.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, [redacted] 20, 1798.

My dear Lord—I [redacted] sorry [redacted] say there [redacted] symptoms [redacted] returning turbulence in Wicklow, Kildare, Wexford,

Antrim, Down, Tipperary. The French were expected ■ Christmas.

■ favourable to-day: he sees ■ Excellency to-morrow. ■ thinks the plan of Union hitherto unfolded is unfavourable to the Catholics, if it ■ considered as a final adjustment: ■ final, then they have ■ chance with a ■ Parliament where they have ■ influence, ■ with an Irish one, where they have. He is for connecting the clergy with ■ State. He ■ the Catholics will not ■ the oath of Supremacy of the ■ of Rights. He will prevent ■ unfavourable declaration.

I think Jebb's pamphlet very favourable to the ■ is cried up here and talked of: it admits all that is wanted. He is against ■ Irish Parliament vested with imperial powers, and for ■ Parliament with local and municipal powers. The question is reduced to this—which ■ preferable—one Parli- ■ for the Empire, chosen from ■ its parts? ■ the cutting down the Union Parliament to the power of ■ Grand Jury?

Ever most truly, &c.,

E. COOKE.

My opinion leads ■ to wish that the Union ■ not in the Speech, but made ■ substantive measure.

Mr. J. O. Beresford ■ Lord Castlereagh.

December 19, 1798.

My dear Lord—Being much pressed for time these ■ two days, and detained at the meetings at the Exchange, which took place ■ Monday, and that which took place yesterday ■ the Lord Mayor's, until nearly the time of my leaving town, I was prevented from writing ■ you; I, however, enclosed to my ■ parcel of papers which I desired him to show you, thinking ■ perusal of them would, in some degree, tend to show you ■ disposition of the people of Dublin. I conclude ■ shown them to you, as likewise the answer I sent to the Bricklayers. The resolutions which ■ drew up ■

Exchange ~~was~~ yesterday passed with a small alteration, which I made in them before they were proposed.

I ~~am~~ you unequivocally that I ~~am~~ an enemy to ~~the~~ measure, but my dislike to it would ~~not~~ induce me to lay aside my sincerity in any correspondence I might have with you ~~on~~ the subject: and, when I warn you of the universal disgust, nay, horror, that Dublin, and ~~all~~ all the lower part of ~~the~~ North, have at the idea of the Union, I do ~~not~~ do ~~it~~ with any idea that my opinion ~~will~~ have a weight in turning Government from their design, but from a wish that they should know what they have to contend with; for, I confess to you, that I fear ~~the~~ the effect the measure will have on the minds of the people (particularly those that were the best affected) than I do the measure itself. At the meeting yesterday, Peter Digges Latouche proposed the resolutions. I was called ~~on~~ to second them; except what Mr. Latouche said, who made a long historical speech, and a few words that I said, not a word ~~was~~ spoken. The resolutions all passed unanimously, without a ~~division~~ I ~~was~~ several of the principal Roman Catholic merchants, but ~~some~~ of the late democratic ~~party~~. All the Presbyterians ~~were~~ there, except John Lindsay. I must mention ~~to~~ you the meeting ~~was~~ a meeting of the merchants and traders of the City of Dublin, and not the free merchants.

The conversations ~~on~~ this subject have given the almost annihilated body of United Irishmen ~~new~~ spirits, and the Society is again rising like a phoenix from its ashes. I know from certain information that they ~~are~~ again meeting in ~~the~~ City and its neighbourhood, and ~~are~~ preparing fresh publications to agitate the people. Mr. Taaffe's pamphlet, I think, is a pretty specimen: I send it to you, though I ~~think~~ it scarcely possible but that you must already have received it. Mr. Taaffe, I hear, is a Popish priest, who was wounded ~~in~~ the Rebellion, fighting against his Majesty's forces. The City resolutions, which you will see in the public papers, are a great ~~deal~~ stronger

than [REDACTED] Unless something occurs which is worth relating, I [REDACTED] not trouble you with a letter till I hear from you.

Believe me, &c.,

JOHN CLAUDIUS BEGESFORD.

*Dr. Duigenan*¹ ■ *Lord Castlereagh*.

Dublin, [REDACTED] 20, 1798.

My Lord—You have been, before you will receive this letter, informed that the corporation of the City of Dublin [REDACTED] decided against a Union of the two kingdoms, and published its resolutions in no very temperate terms. An [REDACTED] bly of persons, styling themselves the bankers and merchants, have pursued the [REDACTED] line of conduct. Every traitor and democrat in the City of Dublin, who could pretend to the character of a merchant on the score of his having bought or sold a roll of tobacco, attended at this last meeting, which, however, [REDACTED] honoured with the presence of many very respectable citizens, headed by the Messrs. Latouches,² for whose conduct [REDACTED] this occasion I [REDACTED] account.

The Irish Bar led the way in this premature opposition, influenced by men to whom the Government has heretofore shown great attention, [REDACTED] much, perhaps more, than their merits entitled them to. In short, my Lord, the tide of opposition [REDACTED] this [REDACTED] runs so strong at present in this city, that some of the first and most popular characters who are perfectly convinced of the expediency, nay, almost of the necessity, of the measure, are [REDACTED] openly [REDACTED] proclaim their opinions, convinced that they would, by [REDACTED] doing, lose that popularity, which they may in proper season [REDACTED] for purposes [REDACTED] to Church and State.

We have succeeded here [REDACTED] preventing the Aldermen of

¹ [REDACTED] Duigenan, LL.D., [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] the Armagh, King's Advocate-General, [REDACTED] one of the most strenuous opponents [REDACTED] [REDACTED] claims.

² [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Dublin.

Alley, a very society of citizens of Dublin, eminently loyal, from canvassing the business; different Orange Lodges throughout the kingdom, composed of the bravest, most active, loyal Protestants, have been prevailed on to adopt the same line of conduct. This the utmost service the friends of the Union have been to effect.

In truth, my Lord, I must plainly tell you that the unaccountable conduct of the present Lord-Lieutenant, which has rendered not only an object of disgust, but of abhorrence, to every loyal I have conversed with since my from England, induced many persons to oppose a Union, who, if uninfluenced by resentment against the Marquess Cornwallis, would have given opposition, if they not support, that God Almighty send a chief Governor of more conciliating manners, more understanding, and more knowledge of the real state of this unhappy, divided, partly desolated country, and the dispositions of its inhabitants!

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PATRICK DUGENAN.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, 24, 1798.

My Lord—The several points of the Articles of the intended Union with Ireland upon which your Excellency is desirous of receiving detailed instructions having been stated in writing by Lord Castlereagh, together with a paper, containing the mode in which your Excellency proposes to arrange the representation of the Irish Commons in the United Parliament, I them before his Majesty's confidential servants, by whom I am authorized to acquaint your Excellency that they very much approve the plan you have formed for that branch of the Legislature; that the advantage of it appears self-evident; and that they observe, with great satisfaction, the superiority it possesses the which suggested to you in my despatch of the 23rd November,

and the great success with which it promises to obviate the serious of the objections which occurred to the of the numbers of representative body. to supposed any material difficulty in the selection of a borough which permanent seat is to be given, for the purpose of enabling you to reduce those which to choose alternately to number; nor need your Excellency apprehend any objection from hence if you think proper it expedient for any reason to allow the City of Dublin two representatives, as has been hinted by Lord Castlereagh: the only condition respecting this part of the measure upon which I to require your Excellency to insist being, the number of the representatives of the Commons of Ireland is not to exceed 100, and that the chartered and prescriptive rights of electors to be religiously maintained.

With respect to the election of the Peers, who to sit the part of Ireland in the Parliament of the United Kingdoms, it should seem, upon the consideration that have been to give the subject, that, the precedent of the Union with Scotland was to be exactly followed, the following difficulties would arise:—

First—The principle of election for Parliament only appears in itself to adverse the constitution character of the House of Lords as forming a part of the Legislature; and the inconvenience arising from this circumstance would evidently much augmented when, instead of 16, present, so large a proportion as out of less than 300 members would be elected.

Second—That, this instance, the danger would be greater than in Scotch Peerage, because, though that body in the of a century some diminution, theless so constituted that likely suffer any further diminution, and the body still sufficiently numerous to a reasonable security against improper combinations cabals; whereas, the Irish Peerage, being for the part of

a much later creation, and in almost every instance limited [REDACTED] male, [REDACTED] likely [REDACTED] suffer a much more rapid diminution; and, [REDACTED] number to be elected [REDACTED] be considerably larger, the [REDACTED] may [REDACTED] very [REDACTED] period be extremely inconvenient, by subjecting the election of so powerful a body in the House of Lords to be dependant on [REDACTED] cabals possibly of a few individuals.

Third—The taking from the Crown all power of conferring Irish honours would necessarily reduce very considerably the objects of [REDACTED] ambition, to which persons of consequence in that kingdom may hereafter aspire; and it would, besides, throw [REDACTED] Government such a pressure of claims for British Peerage as must in its effects be highly embarrassing, whether those claims be satisfied or not.

I am, therefore, to recommend it to your Excellency to consider whether a new principle may not with advantage be adopted [REDACTED] to the election of Peers [REDACTED] the part of Ireland, and that, accordingly, the Irish temporal Peers, [REDACTED] existing, or hereafter to be created by his Majesty, should elect, in [REDACTED] first instance, 28 of their number to [REDACTED] in the House of Lords for life, and should, by a like election, supply [REDACTED] [REDACTED] dies, and that all such of the electing Peers [REDACTED] are not [REDACTED] Peers of Great Britain, or [REDACTED] be created Peers of the United Kingdom, shall be capable of being elected and sitting in the United House of Commons. Should, however, the last provision be thought to bear hard on the leading Commoners of Ireland, the Peers to whom [REDACTED] right is proposed to be given may be restrained from being elected by any county, city, or borough, within that part of the United Kingdom.

Considering the number and the professional character of the spiritual Peers of Ireland, [REDACTED] has been thought desirable [REDACTED] they should take their [REDACTED] by rotation among [REDACTED] archiepiscopal and episcopal Sees respectively, [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] Archbishop and three Bishops may [REDACTED] to [REDACTED] in [REDACTED] Parliament. [REDACTED] I incline to think that your Excellency will [REDACTED] disposed

to collect the opinions of the Primate, or of such other prelates as are within your reach, on the mode in which ■ is most becoming that that reverend body should be represented, previous ■ the public discussion of any proposal respecting it.

By this plan it is evident that the Irish Lords, as well spiritual as temporal, will be much less under the influence of the Crown, and ■ the same time will be free from the operation of private cabal. ■ the temporal Peers of Ireland be desirous of retaining in the United Parliament the right they now possess ■ sitting in ■ British House of Commons, ■ will occur to your Excellency that ■ question of ■ difficulty ■ unavoidably arise, respecting ■ privileges of Peerage, which, though I am not prepared to offer you a solution of it, would not, I should hope, much retard or embarrass the conclusion of the measure when it has attained such a state of advancement.

The only other point which it remains for me to mention respecting the election of the Peers ■ that no meeting whatever should ■ held for that purpose, but that lists containing ■ names of those for whom the Peers chose to vote (as is practised in the case of the Scotch Peers,) should be made and subscribed by them, and sent, properly authenticated, to the Speaker of the United House of Lords, who would be to deliver them sealed ■ the Table, and that this should be the only mode by which ■ representatives of the Irish Peerage should be permitted to be chosen.

One of the greatest difficulties, however, which ■ been supposed to attend the project of Union between the two kingdoms ■ that of ■ expense and trouble which will be ■ sioned by the attendance of witnesses in trials of contested elections, or in matters of private business requiring Parliamentary interposition. It would, therefore, be very ■ to devise a plan (which does ■ appear impossible) ■ powering the Speaker of either House of the United Parliament to issue his warrant to the Chairman of the Quarter ■ in Ireland, ■ to such other person ■ may be thought ■

proper for the purpose, requiring him to appoint a time and a place within [redacted] county, for [redacted] being attended by [redacted] Agents of the respective parties, and reducing to writing in their presence [redacted] testimony (for the Consents and Dissents, [redacted] the [redacted] may be) of such persons as, by the said Agents, may be summoned to attend, being resident within the county (if [redacted] there resident, a similar proceeding should [redacted] place in [redacted] county where they reside); and such testimony so taken [redacted] reduced into writing may, by such Chairman or by the Sheriff of the County, be certified to the Speaker of [redacted] House, as the [redacted] may be.

[redacted] seems difficult [redacted] provide, by a [redacted] Article of the Union, for the various regulations which such a proceeding may require; but the principle might perhaps be stated there, and the provisions left to be settled by the United Parliament. All questions respecting the admissibility, competency, or credibility of such evidence [redacted] certified must, of course, still remain with the House or Committee [redacted] whom it [redacted] to be produced; but it does not appear that in such [redacted] there is any benefit of *visu* [redacted] testimony, which might not equally be attained by written evidence in this form.

Perhaps, in arranging the details, it may be probably useful to consult the provisions [redacted] subsisting by the different Acts respecting the procuring evidence in the like manner for the East Indies.

The reference in Article [redacted] [redacted] the Tariff of the Commercial Treaty concluded with France in 1786, was intended to convey, in the [redacted] intelligible terms, the intention of establishing [redacted] moderate Tariff of equal duties, which should [redacted] to the capitals of each country employed in manufacture the fair [redacted] of [redacted] respective markets: but as to the equal [redacted] well [redacted] countervailing duties, which [redacted] proposed [redacted] be allowed as long as any difference remains in the internal duties of [redacted] two countries, I will procure for your Excellency [redacted] copy [redacted] the [redacted] which [redacted] agreed upon in that respect when [redacted] Irish

Propositions [REDACTED] under consideration, [REDACTED] which were [REDACTED] by persons of such experience [REDACTED] competence in [REDACTED] [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] mutual interests of both kingdoms, that it will be evident to those who are most conversant in subjects of [REDACTED] nature that [REDACTED] [REDACTED] have every reason to be [REDACTED] with the substance of the Article.

With respect to Revenue, it is intended to propose for a given number of years a fixed proportion for the contribution of Ireland towards the peace establishment of [REDACTED] empire, and also a fixed proportion for her contribution towards the [REDACTED] penses of [REDACTED]. Whether the proportions shall be the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] different must be the subject of separate [REDACTED] [REDACTED] discussion; but, [REDACTED] the whole, [REDACTED] far [REDACTED] relates to the Peace establishment, it is not probable that, in the present arrangement of the business, Ireland will be called on for any additional expense beyond what would now be her establishment [REDACTED] the Peace, if the Union did not [REDACTED] place.

It will [REDACTED] necessary that the present Irish Revenue should be made perpetual (subject to repeal and substitution of [REDACTED] by the United Parliament), and that it should be appropriated towards defraying the proportion to be [REDACTED] fixed of the general Peace establishment, as well as the interest and Sinking Fund of the Irish debt, and the objects [REDACTED] provided for by annual grant of Parliament; and it may be matter of consideration whether any surplus of revenue beyond this proportion, which shall arise beyond the increased produce of the Irish taxes [REDACTED] from the extinction of debt, should be appropriated [REDACTED] reserved for the [REDACTED] expences, or should, to any limited [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] a given time, [REDACTED] applied to objects of local improvement.

It only remains for [REDACTED] to satisfy the inquiries which your Excellency has directed to be made respecting the mode of bringing forward the measure of the Union, and I therefore proceed to [REDACTED] to you what [REDACTED] appeared upon consideration [REDACTED] be the most advantageous course of proceeding on that subject; namely, [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] Parliament should adjourn to

the 22nd of January, the day on which I conceive you are to [redacted] for [redacted] despatch of business, [redacted] that [redacted] should be recommended [redacted] [redacted] day to both Parliaments; to that [redacted] this kingdom by a Message to both Houses, and to that of Ireland by your Excellency's speech from [redacted] thrones; with which view, I will not fail, in pursuance of the desire you have communicated [redacted] [redacted] by Lord Castlereagh, to [redacted] your Excellency the [redacted] of a paragraph for that purpose. The answer [redacted] the communications [redacted] in the first instance be quite general, and a day should be fixed for taking [redacted] subject into consideration, which day should be [redacted] nearly [redacted] may be the same in [redacted] countries, and should be sufficiently distant for a call of the House in Ireland; whether that call should be proposed by the opposers of the measure, or it should be thought advisable, (as I rather collect it may) that the proposal should come from Government; and, upon talking the matter over with Lord Castlereagh, it appears that, if your Parliament meets, as I conceive it will, [redacted] the 22nd of January, the 5th of February will not be an improper day to appoint for the first proceedings in the question of Union. On the 5th of February, then, [redacted] the day which may be fixed on, it does not appear to us that any other proceeding will be necessary than a joint address of the two Houses in each kingdom, expressing their disposition [redacted] promote [redacted] desirable [redacted] object [redacted] suitable terms, and requesting the King to appoint Commissioners of each kingdom to confer together, and [redacted] prepare a plan for that purpose to be submitted to His Majesty, and, [redacted] Majesty [redacted] think proper, to [redacted] [redacted] before Parliament.

I reckon that such an Address would pass, if at all, in the course of the first full week in February; in the next six weeks I understand [redacted] would be impossible that the [redacted] Commissioners should come to England, on account of the business of the Parliament; but much [redacted] very valuable time would [redacted] saved, [redacted] [redacted] should be thought expedient that the British Commissioners should [redacted] a certain number of their body to [redacted]

to Ireland, to collect information there, and to confer with any Committee of the Irish Commissioners. If the persons for this purpose are well acquainted with English and Irish trade, particularly with the latter, more progress might be towards a conclusion by a fortnight or three weeks of such discussion taking place upon the spot than many months of formal conferences between large bodies of Commissioners sitting in England.

My report which Lord Castlereagh will inform you of the conversation which he had with Sir John Parnell will prove to your Excellency in your opinion respecting the propriety of bringing the leading members of Administration, and Sir John Parnell in particular, to a clear and distinct avowal of their sentiments and intentions with regard to the Union; and I desire to inform your Excellency, in the most explicit and unqualified terms, that every one of His Majesty's Ministers as well as myself will consider themselves indissolubly obliged to use their best endeavours to what engagements your Excellency may deem it necessary to deem it expedient to enter into for the purpose with a view of accomplishing the Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

I wish I may have succeeded in giving your Excellency the whole of the information you expected, and satisfying the doubts which may have suggested themselves to you on the consideration of the Articles; but, if I have failed, I shall have the satisfaction of thinking that the defect will be supplied by Lord Castlereagh, whose assistance we have had the benefit of at all meetings which have been upon the subject. I desire, therefore, to refer your Excellency to him, and to you I should most willingly have trusted to my report alone, would my duty have permitted me, in a case of such delicacy and importance, to have appeared to have shrunk from any part of the responsibility attached to my public situation.

I remain, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Dr. Troy to Lord Castlereagh.

North King Street, Dublin, December 24,

My Lord—In acknowledging your honour of your Lordship's favour of the 20th instant, I conceive it my duty to state that the adjourned meeting mentioned in my letter of the 15th to your Lordship, was held last Saturday at Lord Fingall's. Lord Kenmare was one of the many respectable persons, gentry and principal merchants of this city, who attended.

The general opinion of the meeting was that the Catholics, as such, ought not to deliberate on the Union as a question of Empire, but only as it might affect their own peculiar interests as a body; and that this it was judged inexpedient to publish any resolution or declaration at present; wherefore neither of any kind was proposed or suggested, and the meeting adjourned *die*. I have the honour to remain, &c., J. T. TROY.

PS. May I presume to request my compliments to Mr. Marshall!

Lord Castlereagh to Earl of Shannon.

London, December, 1798.

My dear Lord—As I shall so soon have the pleasure of seeing you, details shall be postponed till we meet. I cannot however avoid troubling you with a few lines, to say that my communications here, I have no doubt, will prove satisfactory to you. There is the utmost anxiety to make the union unexceptionably just between the two countries, and Ministers are determined upon its taking a wide range throughout the kingdom. Before we reach our port, we shall have many a rude blast. I trust our friends will not mind it, and we shall yet do well.

With the most perfect respect, I am, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh.

London, Monday, December 31, 1798.

My Lord—I have the honour of sending you a copy of the paper which my friend the Bishop of

I am in great trouble of drawing for me, with a view to facilitate
 and expedite the reading of Defoe's History of the Union. I
 don't know whether I would like to have it known that he
 was the author of this paper, and I therefore must desire your
 Lordship to mention his name without my permission.

I cannot send you these few lines without desiring you to let the Lord-Lieutenant know I received your morning by Herbert, the messenger, your despatch of the instant, which gives me account of the country, which much surprise me, make me very uneasy; but appears to me, as well as account which (I know) came from Lord Kilwarden, contain the powerful and unanswerable arguments for the necessity of a Union without delay. I must observe to your Lordship, in confidence, Lord Kilwarden is completely frightened, much so as to think a Union ought to be proposed almost for the purpose of retracting the proposal. Lord Ely called upon me this morning. He regretted much his not having met you on your road, and expressed disappointment in not finding you here. He professed to have formed an opinion respecting the Union, of course, intimated many doubts, and affected ignorance; and I am certainly not authorized to say more than that he is not far from being convinced of the propriety of the measure.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Would it be impossible to convert the prophecy to a good purpose? Might not the Revolution which has been announced be interpreted to be their accession to a share of the Imperial power of the Empire? and, I believe you may safely venture to predict that the Dutch fleet will be better able to interrupt any event this year than the last; and that France has not in her power to give the Dutch any assistance, or the least annoyance, by her ships or its troops.

SUPPLEMENT.

of a Plan for strengthening the North.

Yeomanry Corps to be considerably augmented; augmentation to be neither paid, armed, nor clothed, except in case of invasion; to assemble in with their respective corps on the first parade day in every month, and to receive pay for that day—
to take the oath prescribed by the Act.

Generals of districts to confer with Captains of Yeomanry on the presence of their corps, that the numbers willing upon emergency to do garrison duty may be accurately ascertained; garrisons to be appointed. In case of invasion, houses of persons notoriously disaffected to be converted into barracks for yeomanry, and the same either put into confinement or ordered into towns, where they should be obliged to remain under a severe penalty; this to be privately arranged between general officers and captains of corps. Return of number of horses, cars, and arms that each corps would furnish for the public service on the shortest notice.

If possible, Brigadier-General Knox for this service, in all the country west of the Bann and Lough Neagh.

All boats plying upon the Newry Canal, Upper and Lower Bann, Lough Neagh, and the Blackwater, to be registered with General Officer, and security required that they should be produced at certain places on the shortest notice.

Fort of Charlemont to be very amply supplied with arms, ammunition, specie, blankets, and tools for Pioneers. (In the Pioneer service the Yeomanry might be very useful). Querie,

■ supply ■ pikes. Governor of Charlemon to have ■ commission of the peace for counties adjacent. No license for sale ■ liquors ■ vicinity of the Fort, on any account whatever, without ■ of Governor.

■ for ■ University for Ulster.

Five Royal Schools ■ by Charles ■ First ■ Armagh, Dungannon, Raphoe, Enniskillen, Cavan. They are endowed ■ amounting to about ■ profitable acres, ■ bog: they ■ let ■ present for about ■ a year. It ■ proposed that these grants of Charles the First should ■ revoked by the Crown, ■ annulled by Act of Parliament, if necessary, and regranted to the University to be established at Armagh, in trust, for the following purposes.

One fourth part of the produce of the lands to be divided in portions to five schoolmasters—Armagh, Dungannon, Raphoe, Enniskillen, Cavan.

One ■ part for the maintenance of Professors and Scholars in the University of Armagh.

One fourth part for the maintenance of Scholars in the University of Armagh.

One fourth part for keeping the buildings in repair, both of the University and the Schools.

The University of Armagh to consist of the Dean of Armagh, for the time being, to be Provost; the profits of the Deanery to ■ salary.

■ Librarian of Armagh to be a fellow in the present endowment.

The Astronomer of Armagh to be a fellow in the present endowment.

A Professor of Classical Learning and History.

A Professor of Mathematics and Experimental Philosophy.

A ■ of ■ Philosophy and Law.

A Professor of Divinity ■ Church of England.

A Professor of Divinity for Dissenters.

Five junior Fellows.

Salaries for the five Professors to be £150 each; of the five junior [REDACTED] each.

Forty Scholars, at £25 a year each; twenty of the [REDACTED] Scholars to be elected from the five Schools; twenty to be elected [REDACTED] such Dissenting Schools [REDACTED] shall be hereafter named. Dis- [REDACTED] to [REDACTED] eligible to Fellowships and Professorships.

The Salary for each Schoolmaster to be £100; if [REDACTED] Usher, to each, £60. [REDACTED] to be set apart for Premiums.

The [REDACTED] bequeathed by the Primate of £5000 to be applied in building. Parliament to grant [REDACTED] much [REDACTED] [REDACTED] may be necessary. Government to allocate two livings [REDACTED] [REDACTED] University, and each of the Northern Bishoprics to allocate [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Primate to be Visitor, [REDACTED] power to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] of his suffragans [REDACTED] hold the annual commencement.

The Provost to be appointed by the Crown.

The Fellows to be elected by the majority of the Professors upon examination.

The Scholars to be elected upon examination by the Professors.

SCHOOLS.—*Surplus Funds.*

	Ready Money.	Annual Rent.
Erasmus Smith's Foundations	8,000	2,000
Royal Free Schools. The produce of the Lands belonging to these Schools, which [REDACTED] five in number, belongs to the Schoolmasters respectively, during their incumbency. These Lands produce about £4,500 per [REDACTED] If, after [REDACTED] decease of the present Masters, [REDACTED] per [REDACTED] should [REDACTED] thought sufficient [REDACTED] succeeding Masters, there would be a saving of		3,500
The [REDACTED] Primate's Legacy towards building [REDACTED] University [REDACTED] Usher	5,000	
	<hr/> £13,000	<hr/> £5,500

██████████ Protestant Charity ██████████ have perpetual funds to the ██████████ of £10,000.

The Annual Parliamentary grants have generally been ██████████ £10,000 ██████████ £13,000.

Notes.

Suppose ██████████ the surplus of Erasmus ██████████ funds, together with the late Primate's legacy, ██████████ year's Parliamentary grant ██████████ the Protestant Charter Schools, ██████████ to be applied ██████████ the foundation of a College ██████████ Armagh, the Professorship of Astronomy, and the Library founded by ██████████ late Primate, might be made extremely useful.

If the four Provincial Schools ██████████ adopted instead of the Diocesan Schools, a certain number of the free scholars might be elected annually to scholarships in this new College, and succeed to Fellowships upon certain terms. This would animate and encourage the schools, and provide ██████████ cheap education for students in either of the learned professions.

[Indorsed, "Mr. Pelham's Notes."]

STATE OF THE PROTESTANT ██████████ IN IRELAND.

██████████ Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant desires that the Archbishops and Bishops will make the following inquiries through ██████████ their Dioceses ██████████ their visitations in the ensuing year, and will cause their Registrars to return the answers to ██████████ Dublin Castle before the ██████████ day of ██████████.

Queries respecting English Schools.

1. What ██████████ the number of benefices in the Diocese of ██████████
2. What are ██████████ particular benefices in which there is an English School, according ██████████ the Statute of 8 Henry VIII., c. 15?
3. What ██████████ the number of children in each School, distinguishing their sexes?
4. In ██████████ are the children instructed in each School?

5. Who ■ the Schoolmaster? ■ he ■ Protestant? has he any ■ assigned to him agreeably to ■ of 8 George I., c. 12, & George II., ■ 4.

Queries respecting Diocesan ■

1. Is there a Diocesan ■ in the diocese of ———?
- ■ there the ruin of a Diocesan School?
- ■ there any land, and what quantity, for the purpose of a Diocesan School?
4. What salary ■ the Diocesan Schoolmaster?
5. How many Scholars has he, distinguishing boarders and day scholars?

Queries respecting the Protestant Charter Schools and Nurseries.

1. Is there ■ Charter School in the Diocese ———?
2. What number of children does it contain, distinguishing the sexes?
3. Is the building in proper repair?
4. Are the children kept clean, properly clothed, and properly instructed?
5. Who is the Catechist? At what distance does he live from the School? Does he visit ■ constantly?
6. Do the members of the Local Committee visit the School frequently?

Observations ■ ■ Paper entitled "Queries respecting English Schools."

2. Instead of 8th Henry VIII., c. 15, it should be ■ Henry VIII., ■ 15.

5. After these words, "Has he any land assigned ■ him pursuant ■ the ■ of 8th George I., c. 12, ■ George II., ■ 4," should be added, *or otherwise and how.*

Queries respecting the Protestant Charter Schools.

3. ■ ■ apprehended ■ ■ necessary information relative

to the Charter can be by application to the Incorporated Society.

Improvements in English

It is here proposed that the incumbent may be required to pay a Schoolmaster in each of his parishes forty shillings by year.

If it be thought expedient to found a School in every parish, ought such Schools to be supported at the public expense?

By the 15th of Henry VIII., c. 15, every beneficed clergyman is obliged to keep, or cause to be kept, an English School in his benefice at his own expense. And by the 12th of Elizabeth, c. 1, the Bishop of every diocese is obliged to pay one-third part and the clergy two-third parts of the salary of the diocesan Schoolmaster.

There are in Ireland twenty-two dioceses, in each of which there is a diocesan Schoolmaster, and there are about eleven hundred benefices, in each of which (as the law stands) there is, or ought to be, a Schoolmaster, whose salaries are paid by the clergy alone.

Care certainly should be taken by every Bishop that Schools should be established by every beneficed clergyman; that proper and well qualified Masters should be appointed; and that reading, writing, and arithmetic, should be taught to the scholars, and the Church Catechism to such of the laity as are of the Church. But it probably will not be thought reasonable that any additional tax should be laid on the clergy exclusively for this purpose, especially considering the original reason for laying any such tax on the clergy of Ireland (to which the clergy of England are not subject) is done away almost in toto, the beneficed clergy being all able to speak English, and the people in general using the English language. But, a School in every parish, or any extensive plan of education may be carried on by

[REDACTED] adopted [REDACTED] supported by any new general taxes, the clergy, it [REDACTED] apprehended, would very cheerfully [REDACTED] proportion of such [REDACTED] in common with the [REDACTED] of the people. If such Schoolmasters [REDACTED] receive an annual premium [REDACTED] reward, proportioned to the number of children in their respective Schools, and to the progress in learning made by each child, might it not excite a useful emulation?

Would it [REDACTED] be right that the Master of every School in the several parishes of each union should bring their respective scholars on every Sunday to the parish church, that the clergyman might examine them in the Catechism, &c.? If this should [REDACTED] required, [REDACTED] might tend to excite emulation among the [REDACTED] and scholars, and prevent both from making Sunday a day of dissipation. Ought not *impropriate* parishes to be liable [REDACTED] sequestration, in like [REDACTED] appropriate parishes are, for the recovery of the diocesan schoolmaster's salary, by the [REDACTED] 12th George I., c. 9, §. 5?

Improvements in the Protestant Charter Schools.

It is here proposed to change the situations of these Charter Schools. But it must be recollected that the Charter Schools and all the offices belonging to them [REDACTED] already built at a [REDACTED] considerable expense, and that large tracts of ground have been either given, or let at small rents, for the use of them, to [REDACTED] Incorporated Society. Therefore, to [REDACTED] them now, and erect new school-houses and offices, [REDACTED] procure [REDACTED] appendages thereto, would be attended with very great expense, and it [REDACTED] doubted whether [REDACTED] would produce any [REDACTED] good [REDACTED] which does not arise out of the present Schools.

Government can obtain from the Incorporated Society [REDACTED] as accurate an account of all [REDACTED] Charter Schools as could [REDACTED] furnished by the mode here proposed (page 7, No. 2). It is apprehended that the education of the lower orders [REDACTED] people in [REDACTED] (though capable of extension [REDACTED] improvement) [REDACTED] defective than [REDACTED] of the higher ranks. For the

people, there are many schools in almost every parish, where reading, writing, and arithmetic, are taught, which perhaps constitute education (with the addition of some religious instruction) that can be provided for all persons. To educate properly the nobility and gentry is a much more difficult science: as experience has shown, this is better understood in England than elsewhere, may be advisable (if sufficient funds can be found for the purpose) to establish two great Public Schools in proper parts of Ireland; in which no teachers should be employed, in any instance, who were not bred at Westminster School, and another in which the teachers should be persons who had been educated at Eton!

By such means, the gentry of Ireland in general would derive the advantages from the most improved education, which is now confined necessarily to the few whose circumstances enable them to seek them at a distance. And perhaps such an education would be found to be the most effectual mode to civilize the country in general.

It is not intended that in these Schools there should be a succession of Westminster and Eton Masters continually, any longer than until such Schools should be able to supply proper teachers out of the persons educated therein.

BISHOPS' LANDS

The Primacy 100,000 acres; Derry, 70,000; Clogher, 50,000. The lands belonging to the Bishops in Ireland are of great extent, especially those belonging to the Northern Sees. They cannot be let for a longer term than twenty-one years. The tenantry of Ireland will not improve lands so much as in other countries; whence it arises that Church lands in Ireland are not so much improved of cultivation than other lands. From the shortness of their leases, Bishops are often tempted to renew with their tenants, in order, at the expiration of the

leases, to make beneficial leases to their families. This practice is growing common; the Bishop of Derry and the Archbishop of Cashel have made great estates ■ their families by this mode. These circumstances throw an odium on the Church possessions.

The present value of the Bishoprics in Ireland is ■ great as ■ ought ■ be, in relation ■ ■ different orders of the State. They are in value from ■ to £2000 ■ year each. It would be a prudent and safe measure for the Church, if their present relative value to the fortunes of other classes could be preserved, without increase or diminution. ■ is a custom in ■ Sees to make annual renewals of leases, by which practice the fine becomes actually ■ increased rent. ■ this practice ■ universal, and if the rent and fine ■ be turned into a corn rent, and not a money rent, the object of preserving the value of the Bishoprics, in their present relation to the fortunes of other classes, would be attained. Leases might then be granted for thirty-one years, or three lives. The tenantry of the Bishops would be in ■ of security. Bishops' land would be equally cultivated and improved with other land.

1799.

The calamitous events which had desolated Ireland in the preceding year had finally determined the British cabinet to propose and to prosecute with vigour the long-contemplated union of a legislative Union between the two countries, as the best means of preventing the recurrence of similar disasters. Though in Ireland the public mind began to be engaged towards the close of 1798 with this important question, it was first announced in the British House of Commons on the 22d of January by the following message from the King:—

George R. His Majesty is persuaded that the unremitting industry which our enemies persevere in their avowed design for separating Ireland from this country will fail to attract the particular attention of Parliament; and His Majesty recommends it to the House to consider of the means of finally defeating this design by disposing the Parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in the manner which they judge most expedient, for settling such a complete and final adjustment as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connexion essential for their common security, and to the strength, power, and glory of the British Empire.

On the 31st of January, the subject was brought into consideration, when Mr. Pitt moved eight reso-

lutions as the basis of it. Mr. Sheridan proposed an amendment tending to negative those resolutions, which, ■ a division, ■ supported by 140 against 15 votes. In the House of Lords, the question ■ the address to his Majesty's message was ■ ried without opposition. A committee ■ frequently appointed to draw up the address, which, ■ ■ conference with the Commons, was presented to the King as the joint address of both Houses.

The ferment still subsisting in various parts of the kingdom had induced the Government to bring in, through the Attorney-general Toler, ■ bill investing the Lord-Lieutenant with discretionary power ■ suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and to establish martial law. In consequence of this enactment, the County of Antrim ■ proclaimed by order of General Nugent, and placed under martial law; and Mayo ■ also proclaimed by the Lord-Lieutenant. It may be that the powers delegated to inferior agents by this Act were, in some instances, overstepped either from revenge ■ malice, or, perhaps, in the improper and inexperienced exercise of authority. But, ■ it ■ impossible to distinguish the motives which actuated these excesses, many of which were, ■ doubt, prompted by zeal, intemperate, it is true, for the interests of the Government ■ and the public, it ■ deemed necessary ■ provide an Act to indemnify all persons who had resorted ■ illegal measures. One of its provisions enacted that ■ jury should not convict, if magistrates could prove that, in what they had done,

they had acted for the purpose of suppressing ■■
bellion.

The Irish Parliament met on the 22d of January; and, in consequence of the reference in the King's speech ■■ the subject of a Union, ■■ ■■ ■■
menced upon it, which ■■ ■■ for twenty-one hours, beginning at four o'clock, and ending at one on the following day. Mr. George Ponsonby moved ■■ amendment, which ■■ very strongly supported, and lost by a majority of one only; the numbers being ■■ ■■ 106. On the 24th, the Report ■■ the Address ■■ brought up, and Sir Lawrence Parsons moved the omission of the paragraph relative to the Union: another debate ensued, 109 voting for, 104 against ■■ being expunged. On ■■ rejection, the City of Dublin, which had conceived a particular antipathy to the measure, from ■■ notion that it would affect its interests and prosperity, was thrice illuminated. In the House of Peers, however, there ■■ a majority in favour of Union. Still, no decided opinion had been expressed by the Commons against the principle of a Union; and the Lords, by retaining the paragraph relating to it, had so far decided in its favour. The subject ■■ accordingly revived, and brought, ■■ various occasions, before the House. On one of these, the discussion of the Regency Bill, introduced by the ■■ ■■ ■■ Sergeant Fitzgerald, the House being then in Committee, Mr. Foster, the Speaker, delivered a speech of three hours against the Union, attacking the ■■ ■■ ■■ with which ■■ Pitt accompanied his Resolutions, and superciliously pronouncing ■■

speech "a paltry production." On the [REDACTED] of April, when the Report [REDACTED] the Regency Bill [REDACTED] brought up, [REDACTED] subject of the Union [REDACTED] again gone through, but, [REDACTED] animated debate, further proceedings were put off, [REDACTED] the motion of Lord Castlereagh, till [REDACTED] of August.

The remainder of the year [REDACTED] occupied in [REDACTED] mitting exertions [REDACTED] the part of the Government [REDACTED] a successful result, when the important [REDACTED] of the Union should be again brought before Parliament in the ensuing session. A tour made by the Lord-Lieutenant in the autumn [REDACTED] rendered subservient to that great object; for the friends of the Government availed themselves of this opportunity to procure addresses to his Excellency from the various towns and places through which he passed. Indeed, it behoved its supporters to make the most strenuous efforts of every kind for effecting their purpose; for the leaders of the Opposition exerted equal activity and assiduity to counteract it: and it [REDACTED] stated that the sum of £100,000, to which Lord Downshire contributed £1000, and the two Ponsonbys £500 each, [REDACTED] subscribed, in order to purchase [REDACTED] to bring into Parliament members [REDACTED] vote against the Union; but the money paid for this purpose [REDACTED] returned to the subscribers. A second plan was to find able men to write it down. Mr. Grattan refers to a third plan, which the Opposition members contemplated adopting, and which he palliates by alleging [REDACTED] "it would have merely been acting on the principle [REDACTED] down by the Castle."

"A meeting of the friends of Government had been convened"—I continue — quote Mr. Grattan—"and the persons who were to support the several articles of Union brought forward. Several members spoke on this occasion, and among them was Mr. St. George Daly: he was one of the boldest, particularly active, and quite decided. He declared (those words) that his line been taken, and that each of them must select their man; and he had chosen his antagonist already."¹ requires something than the *ipse dixit* of a professed advocate of the assassination of political adversaries to believe this story.

During the whole of this year, the northern parts of France rang with the preparation of armaments, professedly destined for distant quarters, but manifestly directed against Ireland. These movements continued to excite the most vigilant attention of the English Government; and the circumstantial reports of the proceedings of the enemy along their whole northern coast prove that agents equally attentive. If small divisions did occasionally succeed, under particular circumstances of wind and weather, in stealing out of port, encountering flying squadrons of those daring and active officers, John Borlase Warren and Sir Edward Pellew, they either fell into the hands of the *sea-devils*, gallant were named by the French, or, baffled and beaten back, were obliged to run the

¹ Life and Times of the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, by his Son, Henry Grattan, Esq., Vol. i., pp. 73-4.

gauntlet through [REDACTED] blockading fleets [REDACTED] regain their [REDACTED] harbours.

To these disasters, in detail, was added the [REDACTED] render of the whole Dutch fleet in the Helder [REDACTED] the naval division of the expedition sent [REDACTED] Holland in the month of August. Though the primary object of [REDACTED] expedition, the liberation of the United Provinces from the sway of France, [REDACTED] not [REDACTED] plished, still, the greater part of the Dutch navy fell, [REDACTED] the occasion, into the power of Britain—a result which relieved her government from [REDACTED] apprehension of further annoyance from that quarter.

The Letters of this period afford evidence also of the watchful eye kept upon the proceedings of the United Irish refugees [REDACTED] Hamburg, to whom the attention of Sir James Craufurd, the English Minister there, [REDACTED] vigilantly directed. Such [REDACTED] the dread then entertained of the intrigues of secret political societies by the Sovereigns of Europe, that the Emperor Paul of Russia exercised all his influence with the Senate of Hamburg for the delivery of Napper Tandy, who, after his abortive expedition to Ireland, had taken refuge in their city, to Sir James Craufurd; and he was, in consequence, given up and sent [REDACTED] Ireland.

[REDACTED] required no profound consideration to convince the Irish Government of the policy of making friends among all political parties and all religious persuasions. Under such circumstances, the [REDACTED] of the two principal divisions of the Irish nation, the Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians, [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] of engaging

the good-will of both, could not fail to become a subject of deep interest and of serious inquiry. I consider that the papers respecting the former, in particular, command attention at all times, and that they may be referred to, at the present crisis, with peculiar advantage. Being independent of the Correspondence, they are annexed in the Supplement.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

and Confidential.

January 2, 1799.

My Lord—The renewed activity of the disaffected, which I had the honour of stating to your Grace in my despatch of the 21st to have been particularly observable in the Counties of Down and Antrim, has not yet been productive of any open effort. With what immediate view this attempt, which has been very general, was made to excite the lower orders again in motion, it is difficult precisely to trace. I have no reason to believe that it was occasioned by any feelings arising out of the question of Union. In the North, an idea of co-operation from abroad prevailed, and this expectation may have been connected with the preparations going forward in the Texel.

The Catholics, as a body, still adhere to their former views on the question of Union. The very temperate and liberal sentiments which were entertained or expressed by many of the members of that body, and by no means adopted by the Catholics who were Lord Fingall's, and professed to speak for the party at large. Whether this was their original sentiment, or whether they were for the Union unless their objects were comprehended in it, or whether their disposition was taken when they observed Government was either weakly supported or opposed by the Protestants, is difficult to determine. Certain it is, they now hold off, which can only arise either

from ■ original disinclination to the measure, ■ ■ expectation ■ Government ■ be driven to a compliance with their wishes in order to carry it. What line of conduct they ■ ultimately adopt, when decidedly convinced that the ■ will be persevered in on a Protestant principle, I ■ incapable of judging. I shall endeavour ■ give them ■ ■ impressions, without holding ■ ■ them hopes of any relaxation ■ the part of Government, ■ shall leave no effort untried to prevent ■ opposition ■ the Union being ■ the ■ of ■ party; ■ I should much fear, should it be made a Catholic principle ■ resist the Union, that the favourable sentiments entertained by individuals would give way to the party feeling, and deprive ■ of ■ principal strength in the South and West, which could not fail, ■ ■ for the present, to prove fatal to the ■

The clamour against the Union continues in Dublin ■ its neighbourhood. The County is to assemble ■ Friday; there ■ be no doubt of the result.

I do not understand that, ■ yet, any steps have been taken for calling any other County meetings.

I understand Mr. Saurin ■ this day employed in soliciting the officers of the different corps of yeomanry in Dublin ■ sign a paper stating their determination to lay down their ■ in case the ■ of Union ■ brought forward. He was refused by Mr. John Beresford, who expressed his strongest disapprobation of the attempt. ■ much fear Mr. Saurin's ■ duct will render ■ necessary for me to submit, through your Grace, ■ ■ Majesty the indispensable necessity of withdrawing from him those professional distinctions, of which his former conduct ■ rendered ■ ■ deserving.

■ ■ from the Provinces are, upon the whole, favourable. Cork certainly ■ ■ present perfectly well disposed ■ the ■ Should it be thought politic ■ encourage ■ ■ from ■ City, ■ have reason to believe ■ might be ■

Limerick, Waterford, and Wexford, though less eager on question, were understood to be inclined to the measure.

The appearances in the North are by no means discouraging. It has been shown to be disinclination, and some of the violent party in Dublin are not less surprised than indignant.

Derry, the most respectable merchants are decidedly for the measure; and I have understood, from several persons lately returned from the North, whose information deserves credit, that the linen trade, looking to secure for ever the protection they enjoy in the market, are friendly to the principle. Newry is quiet on the question, and disposed to consider it fairly.

The Orangemen in the North have followed the example of the Dublin lodges in declining to interfere with the Orangemen. I trust this instance of moderation will have weight with the yeomanry, and preserve them from the influence of the very pernicious example endeavoured to be set them hence.

I shall have the honour of acknowledging your Grace's despatch, delivered to me by Lord Castlereagh, in which the important features of the measure are distinctly and comprehensively treated, and I have an opportunity of making the necessary communications to the leading individuals, for which I am myself fully prepared by the very decided authority I have received, and the very ample instructions with which your Grace has favoured me.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, January 2, 1790.

My Lord—Although the period of time which has elapsed since my arrival has not permitted me to inform myself with much accuracy of the circumstances passing here with which

your Grace might wish to be acquainted, yet I cannot
 messenger depart endeavouring, in some degree,
 to obey your Grace's commands, by sending you such details
 as may themselves be of sufficient magnitude a
 part of Lord-Lieutenant's communication.

The inflammation in Dublin is extreme, but yet
 confined to middling and higher classes. The lower orders are
 naturally indifferent to the question, but will easily in
 motion, should their co-operation become of importance
 leading opposers of the measure. It is said Mr. Saurin has
 been too successful amongst the officers of the Attorneys'
 and Merchants' Corps, in persuading them to lay down their
 arms. Dr. Duigenan, whose opinions on the question
 strongly favourable, is, I understand, shaken by the Protestant
 cabal in the city, with which he is much connected. Mr. Ogle,
 from his not having replied to my letter, I fear is similarly
 affected. I see Dr. Duigenan to-morrow, and endeavour
 to reanimate him. Your Grace will easily conceive that
 the measure cannot be expected to be *peculiarly grateful* to the
 members of either House of Parliament: this naturally creates
 a decrease of zeal in our friends, and their spirits are not a
 little damped by the clamour of Dublin. I have found that
 the decided language which the Lord-Lieutenant has been
 authorized by your Grace to use to them has the best effects,
 and will, I have no doubt, encourage them to give me a decided
 support.

Nothing but an established conviction in the English
 Government will lose sight of the Union if it is carried
 can give the measure a chance of success. The friends of the
 question look with great anxiety for Pitt's statement: it
 is only of the importance, from his ability with the
 subject will be handled, from the opportunity it will
 afford him of announcing to the country his determined pur-
 pose Government in both kingdoms to be discouraged neither
 by nor difficulty, but to agitate the question again

again till it succeeds. This principle is the foundation of our strength, and cannot be too strongly impressed on this side of the water. I have stated it without reserve to several, and it has universally been received by them as a pledge of our ~~cess~~, and that, with a purpose so manly, our friends ~~hesitate~~ to stand by us.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private and ~~Secret~~.

Whitehall, January 7, 1799.

~~minutes~~ part 5.

My dear Lord—Immediately on the receipt of your Lordship's letter of ~~2nd~~ inst., marked most secret, I waited ~~the~~ Duke of Portland, at Burlington House, who, without loss ~~time~~, wrote both to Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville ~~that~~ part of the letter which seemed to press the most, and I have the ~~honour~~ to inform your Lordship that ~~a~~ messenger ~~be~~ sent off from hence in the course of to-morrow, with the remittance particularly required for the present moment; and the Duke of Portland has every ~~hope~~ to hope that ~~will~~ ~~be~~ found of placing ~~a~~ larger ~~sum~~ at the Lord-Lieutenant's disposal: but upon this point I ~~probably~~ have occasion ~~to~~ write to your Lordship again to-morrow, as ~~as~~ ~~the~~ subject of the Emigrants, to whom your Lordship ~~in~~ the latter part of your letter.

I am, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Circular to Members of Parliament.

~~Castle~~, January 7, ~~1799~~

Sir—I ~~am~~ ~~by~~ my Lord-Lieutenant to acquaint you ~~business~~ of the greatest importance will ~~be~~ ~~Parliament~~ on the ~~day~~ of the Session, ~~Excellency~~ trusts that it will suit your convenience to be in town previous

1798.]

to that time, I shall hope to have an opportunity of communicating with you upon the measures to be brought

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to the Right Hon. Colonel King.

Dublin Castle, January 7, 1798.

My dear Sir—I should have presumed to trouble you with the request contained in my last, but I have waited to the earliest opportunity of communicating with you on the important measure which His Majesty's Ministers have it their duty to propose to the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland. His Majesty has in his speech recommended to the Irish Parliament to take into their early consideration the means of drawing closer the connexion; and it is intended to propose, as soon after the House can be called over, the enabling the Crown to appoint Commissioners to speak in each part of each country, and to submit to Parliament a plan of a Legislative Union for their consideration. This proceeding will admit of the measure being fully understood by the country before it is brought to a decision.

I shall be anxious for a meeting, to explain to you the outline of the arrangement which is in contemplation, and hope that it will appear to his Majesty's confidential servants essential to the interests of both countries, and with your support.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, January 7, 1798.

My Lord—I have to apologize to your Grace for omitting to enclose the sketch alluded to in my last letter, which has already given a more favourable aspect to appearances in

Dublin. The [redacted] considered [redacted] highly liberal, the proportionate arrangement of [redacted] expences having completely overset the argument on which the enemies of [redacted] measure [redacted] hitherto principally relied, namely, the extension of English [redacted] and taxation to Ireland.

I have the honour to enclose [redacted] of an [redacted] which, [redacted] expected, will be sent up from Cork this morning [redacted] Lord Boyle, whose sentiments, I am happy to find, are in perfect unison with Lord Shannon's, indeed, warmly [redacted] mention [redacted] with the more satisfaction, as it was intimated [redacted] me in England, and repeated by several persons since my return, that [redacted] Lordship was adverse [redacted] a Union, and disposed to use his influence with Lord Shannon against the [redacted]. Our friends begin to declare themselves openly, and there is an observable hesitation in the opposers of the question. They give us credit for sufficient strength [redacted] carry the [redacted], which [redacted] itself a principle of support.

Mr. Saurin called on [redacted] to-day. I had a very long conversation with him. I am inclined to think he will not persevere in his purpose of laying down [redacted].

The Catholics still continue against [redacted]. The Chancellor writes from Limerick that he has [redacted] to believe that orders [redacted] effect have been sent down there within these few days.

Lord Caulfeild¹ has gone down to do what mischief [redacted] can at Armagh: the outline which [redacted] in circulation will counteract him in [redacted] degree. Very fortunately, the Speaker is [redacted] detained [redacted] Holyhead. Mr. [redacted] yesterday: [redacted] arrival, [redacted] will find individuals pretty well informed, [redacted] well on [redacted] general features of the [redacted] as of the determination of Government. [redacted] told me that his [redacted] for [redacted] going by [redacted] north was, lest he should be pressed by the linen trade [redacted] opinion. I hope the [redacted] spirit of exertion may [redacted] him on landing.

¹ Son of the Earl of Charlemont, one of the principal [redacted] of the [redacted].

Colonel Fitzgerald, Member of the County of Cork, inferior no man in personal respectability, is strongly with me. I assured me to-day that he would take whatever part was wished in the debate. Lord Tyrawley has enlisted heartily. The necessary personal attention being paid him will gain many very respectable county members from Mayo, together with other friends. Sir John Blaquiere is disposed to follow himself very much. I mention to your Grace individuals as they come. I do myself the honour of sending you a corrected list, as soon as I can account for individuals more satisfactorily.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin, January 8, 1799.

My Lord—I have the pleasure to inform your Grace that the address, a copy of which I had the honour of enclosing in my last, was passed the Council of Cork unanimously. A great number of the principal inhabitants waited on the Council to express their approbation of their Resolutions, a copy of which I enclose. It will be submitted to the freemen in a few days, and it is expected that it will receive a very general support. I am not without hopes that Waterford and Limerick and Londonderry may follow their example.

The Speaker is arrived. I have not yet seen him, but understand his language is very hostile. We are making every exertion to collect strength on the first day of the Session; much depends in this country at all times on public impressions; it is therefore important to maintain public confidence, and to meet the outset boldly the measure which the speech alludes to. His language is the more strengthened in our proceedings. It is better to provoke the discussion than to shun for the attack. I shall

endeavour to prevail on the Chancellor to make one of his strong speeches in the Lords, which, thrown ■■■■ circulation, will have its effect.

I have the honour to remain, ■■■■
CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh ■■■■ Lord Longueville.

Dublin Castle, January ■■■■

My ■■■■ Lord—I have received with great ■■■■ your Lordship's letter enclosing the proceedings ■■■■ Cork. Your Lordship's exertions have rendered ■■■■ very important service ■■■■ King's Government on ■■■■ as on former trying occasions. Nothing can ■■■■ better conceived than the words of the address. I trust it may be equally well received by the freemen, and that the sentiment it breathes may pervade the province. The North is, upon the whole, well inclined to the measure; Dublin ■■■■ clamorous, but is too ignorant of the measure to be steadily disinclined.

I shall be very happy indeed, my dear Lord, to meet you, and trust every thing will succeed to your wishes.

Most faithfully, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

Whitehall, January 10, 1799.

My dear Lord—In answer to that part of your Lordship's letter ■■■■ the second instant, which relates to the prisoners whom it is wished to send to Hamburg,¹ I am truly sorry

¹ In the beginning of December, the several State Prisoners had received an official intimation that they might then go to any part of the continent of Europe not at war with Great Britain, and that, if they did not depart in the course of a month, they must remain in prison at their own cost, as the Government allowance would then cease. From this release were excepted Arthur O'Connor, T. A. Emmett, Dr. McNevin, Samuel Neilson, John Sweetman, John Chambers, Matthew Dowling, Thomas Russell, ■■■■ Sweeny, Hugh Wilson, Joseph Cuthbert, ■■■■

to say that ■■■ yet ■ my power to send you a satisfactory answer. Under ■■■ attending the ■■■ of Napper Tandy and his associates, both the Duke of Portland ■■■ Lord Grenville are anxious that no persons of that description should be sent *publicly* to Hamburg, ■■■ least, ■■■ till after the result of this ■■■ be known.

It is therefore anxiously wished that his Excellency would ■■■ send any of these gentlemen either here or ■■■ Hamburg in a body, but, ■■■ all, ■■■ privately ■■■ possible, and one by one, ■■■ further information ■■■ have been procured by Lord Grenville of the disposition of the people of that State ■■■ receive them; ■■■ the difficulty would be greatly increased were they ■■■ be rejected on their arrival, and refused permission to disembark.

The Duke of Portland desires me, at the ■■■ time, to say ■■■ his Excellency may be assured that the utmost attention will be immediately paid to this subject, and that there ■■■ the strongest wish to relieve ■■■ from the unpleasant situation in which every ■■■ is well aware that the Irish Government must necessarily be placed by these people remaining in the country.

With respect to the leading State Prisoners, there ■■■ a strong disposition ■■■ adopt a former suggestion of the Lord-Lieutenant as to the possibility of removing them to the Forts in the Highlands of Scotland; and inquiry will be immediately made ■■■ to the possibility of their being received, lodged, and secured there: but strong doubts ■■■ entertained of the legality of ■■■ under the existing laws, and ■■■ is thought ■■■ recourse ■■■ be ■■■ to the Legislature.

■■■■ with the truest regard, &c.

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Cormick, and Dean Swift, who were informed that particular circumstances prevented the Lord-Lieutenant from permitting them to leave the prison at that time.

Letter of [redacted] to Lord Castlereagh.

[redacted] [redacted] London, Friday, January 11, 1799.

My dear Lord—I believe I have written as fully as you could expect to the Lord-Lieutenant upon the points in which you wish to hear from us, and at such times, and upon subjects of that sort, you will allow me to assure you I consider letters addressed to him as much nearer to those I receive from you as if they were directed to yourself. However, I must not post go, without thanking you for the very satisfactory letters I received from you yesterday and to-day, and congratulating you in particular upon the success from Cork, which I shall be most happy to convey to his Majesty, and which I hope will be a signal for the good conduct of the Government of Ireland to show itself. It is more necessary upon account of our Militia than I should wish, or than many may choose to believe: at the same time, it is impossible not to have a certain degree of pride and satisfaction in the motive which occasions this necessity, as it is a love of liberty, though it may be mistaken or carried too far. However, you should be sensible that the necessity may exist, that, if no disposition to harm should be shown in Ireland, the Militia may consider it entirely as a Ministerial measure, and be more inclined to countenance than to resist the opposition to it, should it even proceed to acts of violence and outrage. A letter I wrote yesterday makes me feel it necessary to give you this intimation, which is, of course, of the most secret nature; I hope I will be rendered of no consequence by the spirit which will show itself in the South and North, and by the endeavours which I will employ myself in procuring to be made, to relieve you from a part of the suspense which the dependence upon a force which is so uncertain the duration of its assistance necessarily expose you to. I am sorry to say Lord Ely holds a very loose language indeed; he told me, and he has repeated it since, that he has not yet formed any opinion; I know

[REDACTED] has said [REDACTED] he had not yet heard anything to convince him of the necessity or utility of a Union. [REDACTED] Archbishop of [REDACTED] acknowledges himself disinclined, but professes great and earnest desire to support Government. [REDACTED] that the spiritual Lords should *be represented by the four Archbishops*. I really wish you joy of Lord Carleton. I shall [REDACTED] glad [REDACTED] the 113 upon paper: from what your Lordship [REDACTED] tells me, I should hope that many of them will prove buckram [REDACTED].

Believe [REDACTED] ever, my dear Lord, sincerely yours,

PORTLAND.

[REDACTED] hope you do not [REDACTED] to go into the House with two of your *Commissioners* in opposition to the House.

Lord Camden [REDACTED] *Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart*.¹

Arlington Street, January 11, 1799.

Dear Charles—I [REDACTED] surprised [REDACTED] should not have heard from you in consequence of the strong measures which [REDACTED] about [REDACTED] take place in the 5th Dragoons. In Lord Cornwallis's representation of their state of insubordination and indiscipline, he does you great justice, and says that, meritorious as your conduct is, it [REDACTED] impossible that you, with all the [REDACTED] of the officers in combination against you, can restore the regiment [REDACTED] discipline. I find it is likely the regiment [REDACTED] to be broke, and I could not satisfy myself without inquiring from the Duke of York how the regiment was to stand. [REDACTED] means to advise the King that [REDACTED] be broke, but that you shall remain on-pay till you are appointed to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy in another regiment of Dragoons, which will take place very soon. [REDACTED] Duke said that, so far from [REDACTED] event being of any detriment [REDACTED] your military objects, your exertions have been very great, and do you great credit. [REDACTED] thought [REDACTED] would be satisfactory to you to hear *this*. Ever yours,

CAMDEN.

¹ Now third Marquess of Londonderry.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord of Portland.

Secret.

Castle, January 11, 1799.

My Lord—I find it necessary to apprise your Grace of a very unfavourable impression which has been made within the last days against the Union, partly by the arrival of the Speaker, and partly by a pamphlet being generally circulated and believed in town, that both Lord Downshire and Lord Ely were adverse to the measure.

There seems but too much reason to apprehend, from some expressions in a letter of Lord Downshire's to Lord Castlereagh, that his Lordship's opinion is, at best, unsettled on the subject; and, by the enclosed copy of a letter from Lord Ely to a friend here, it is evident that his support can by no means be relied on.

Your Grace will observe that Lord Ely's expressions are *verbatim* those of the Speaker, Lord Downshire, Lord Cork, &c. It is reported that he means to bring Mr. Luttrell forward, who has been peculiarly active in London against the measure, which, if true, is not only a proof of his Lordship's present sentiments, but of the school in which they have been formed. It appears, by his letter, that he has been living with the Archbishop of Cashell, from whom he would infallibly receive similar impressions.

I need not press upon your Grace's attention the insuperable difficulties so unexpected and so important a defection on this occasion in the accomplishment of the measure. It only transfers the votes in the Commons to the Opposition, but creates a damp among the supporters of the measure, which may operate to a fatal extent against us.

Lord Castlereagh has been endeavouring to bring forward some of the measure and declare their sentiments openly, and with some success, notwithstanding the natural apprehension of committing themselves to so important a measure without being assured how much strength will lie; but he finds the

unfortunate circumstances above [REDACTED] to have thrown new and considerable impediments in his way.

In stating [REDACTED] considerations to your Grace, I have only most earnestly to entreat that every possible effort may be made on your side of the water to overcome the difficulties of [REDACTED] important characters, and to send us whatever assistance [REDACTED] be collected from thence.

I conclude [REDACTED] Majesty's Ministers will feel, whatever may be [REDACTED] issue of the present attempt, that they [REDACTED] less [REDACTED] themselves than to the Empire, and particularly to [REDACTED] who, [REDACTED] their instance, and under their [REDACTED] of a decided support, have been induced to declare themselves in favour of the measure, to bring it into [REDACTED] with every advantage which decision [REDACTED] their part [REDACTED] give it. Should it fail, it will require a very mature consideration how the powers of the State can [REDACTED] best exercised, with a view to [REDACTED] future success, without materially impeding the present administration of the Government.

I have already felt it a question of considerable delicacy to decide in what instances and at what period it [REDACTED] expedient [REDACTED] persons from office who have either taken a decided line against the measure, or, who, without acting publicly, hold a language equally prejudicial to its success, [REDACTED] equally inconsistent with their connexion with Government. In the instance of Mr. J. O. Beresford, whose conduct has been very hostile [REDACTED] many of the Dublin meetings, the difficulty has been peculiarly [REDACTED]. With a view of impressing [REDACTED] with the idea of our being in earnest, his dismissal seemed desirable; on the other hand, as we profess to encourage discussion, [REDACTED] neither to precipitate Parliament or [REDACTED] country on the decision, much less to force it against the public sentiment, there seemed [REDACTED] objection [REDACTED] very early exercise of ministerial authority on the inferior servants of [REDACTED] Crown.

I have, therefore, thought it expedient to proceed, in the

first instance, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer,¹ who has not been altogether punctual in his engagement with Lord Castlereagh, of being here on the 10th, not being yet arrived, and then proceed, according to circumstances, or such directions as I may receive from your Grace, with inferior members of the administration.

There certainly is a very strong disinclination to measure many of the borough proprietors, and a not less marked repugnance in many of the people, particularly in those who have been longest in the habits of the current system. The secondary interests of course look on it as the destruction of authority, and the leading interests as exposing contests. These impressions, connected with the natural expectation which every individual forms of deriving some personal advantage by the change, make its accomplishment full of difficulty. The steady purpose of the English Government, and the natural authority of the State in this kingdom, will counteract these principles in a great degree; but weighty may encourage a general resistance, which would certainly leave those who are supporters of the measure, from a conviction of its necessity, in a minority.

I have taken the necessary steps for encouraging declarations from the towns of Limerick, Waterford, Derry, and Newry, as they can be obtained without too strong an appearance of Government interference, and am employed in counteracting, as far as possible, County meetings, which are extending themselves.

I have endeavoured to impress upon your Grace the extent of the measure, and have surmounted. Your Grace may depend on every exertion in my power to promote the of a measure which I feel to be essential to the British interests of the kingdom.

I have the honour to be, &c., C.

¹ Sir John Parnell, who was removed from office, and replaced by Isaac Curry.

Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret.

Whitehall, January 11, 1799.

My Lord—I know not to of intelligence received from Brest, which will be transmitted to you together with letter. I should be surprised if the French should make attempt to throw into Ireland, if only in the hope of increasing the disorder, which they may naturally suppose must exist during the agitation of the question of the Union.

I know besides, notwithstanding the language that some of them might hold in Ireland, that most of the officers who have returned to France prisoners from the expedition under General Hardy, entertain a very opinion of the troops to which they were opposed, and are impressed with the idea which they will fail to inculcate at the Luxembourg that, they landed but 6000 instead of 1200, they should have secured the country. The vanity natural to Frenchmen makes them persuaded of the truth of what they say; and have to know that the officers who passed through this town their way to Dover, and all, maintained that, had the second expedition effected its landing, the island could have been their own.

We are at this moment destitute of intelligence, of the Elbe's being frozen, and I cannot help fearing that, when a thaw shall take place, we shall not find information from thence as important as it has been, and learn, the contrary, that the French have opened some channel of communication that we are able to discover at present, which, as long as smuggling shall exist, they may very easily do. In the time, it appears from the enclosed very curious papers, which the Duke of Portland may be laid before the Lord-Lieutenant, and afterwards destroyed, or preserved in some other shape, that countrymen are idle; and your Lordship will not be surprised

find Lady [redacted] Fitzgerald [redacted] active. [redacted]
 [redacted] Hamburg mail [redacted] bring us a farther [redacted] of Mr.
 Morris. In [redacted] time, [redacted] expedition fitting [redacted]
 [redacted] seems to coincide pretty well with [redacted] [redacted]
 gentleman's Memorial, [redacted] upon [redacted] all, may have required
 for consideration, and for orders [redacted] have been given [redacted]
 quence to the ports. I beg your Lordship, however, [redacted] observe
 that these [redacted] merely my own conjectures.

I send [redacted] letter by the post, by which conveyance I am
 also determined to send you [redacted] remaining parts of your bank
 bills, a messenger having been in readiness to set [redacted] for
 Ireland every hour for these last three days, and, [redacted] circum-
 [redacted] [redacted] another having prevented his departure hitherto, I
 am fearful of a continuance of the same delay.

I [redacted] ever, with sincere regard,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

PS.—I do not find that any very late intelligence [redacted] been
 received from the Texel.

[redacted] Secret.

*Memorial of Citizen Hervey Montmorency Morris, late of
 Knockalton, in [redacted] County of Tipperary, Ireland, [redacted]
 Brusa, Minister of the Marine and French Colonies,
 Sheweth,*

That Memorialist has been a United Irishman since the
 month of November, 1796: that in May, 1797, he [redacted]
 regularly chosen a county representative for Tipperary, and
 nominated Colonel of the Regiment of Nenagh Infantry. In
 February, 1798, he [redacted] attached to the general Military
 Committee, and [redacted] after appointed to the Adjutant-General-
 ship of Munster.

Memorialist, having been [redacted] by the [redacted] Directory,
 [redacted] the number of years [redacted] [redacted] been in the army, and the
 large portion of actual service he formerly experienced, to be a
 proper subject to [redacted] this office, [redacted] this time was uncommonly

active in forwarding the organisation in his province, and, subsequent to the arrest of the 12th March, he was taken into the Executive, and made an effective member of the Military of Ireland.

Upon the of April last, an attempt was made by the Government to have Memorialist with several of arrested, and, your Memorialist's escaping from his pur- country-house was taken possession of, &c. From time until the period of Lord Fitzgerald's massacre, Memorialist was continually engaged in working the ensuing campaign, and in the intended attack upon the City of Dublin, he was to have the particular direction several attacks upon the batteries and magazine (or fort) the Phoenix Park, which plan was frustrated by reason of the 'foresaid arrest, and a discovery made to the Government of the intentions of the Union.

Memorialist further sayeth that, on the 4th of June, he escaped from Dublin, and found means of holding himself concealed in the County of Westmeath until the arrival of the French General Humbert, Memorialist not imagining that General Humbert would have risked a decisive battle with the British troops, particularly after he had supplied himself with a tolerable train of artillery, upon defeating General Lake. By the critical state of the inhabitants, Memorialist used every effort to restrain the ardour of the men of Westmeath, and prevented their rising, exerted in like his influence in his own County of Tipperary to the same effect: but, upon hearing of General Humbert's passage of Shannon, and rapid progress into the country, Memorialist thought it a duty to lend his aid, and consequently assemble the men of Westmeath; and, taking post in the right flank of Lord Cornwallis's army, with a body from two to three thousand ill-armed peasants and several Union, Memorialist made such dispositions as judged might prove favourable to the progress of invading army.

Upon the defeat and subsequent surrender of General Humbert's corps, Memorialist his men, and, being pursued by a party of the King's troops and a body of Yeomen Cavalry, narrowly escaped Dublin, whence he got into England, and arrived at Hamburg on the 7th inst.

Memorialist of opinion that, in of future attempts upon Ireland the part of France, the province of Munster, which abounds in good havens, and whose the Republicans in Ireland, is the point to be looked to; and Memorialist thinks that the port of Wexford or Waterford, (Passage) while thought by our enemies to be would of the best places to land a fleet. For rest, Memorialist implores the protection of the French Government for him and his family.

Extract of a Letter from M. Maragan to M. Talleyrand.

Most Secret.

Hambourg, Brumaire.

Monsieur Hervey Montmorency Morris, de Kivesallen, en Irlande, s'est présenté chez moi de la part de l'intéressante Lady Edonard Fitzgerald, il a été mis hors la loi, et il craint de n'être pas sûreté à Hambourg. Il étoit ami intime du feu Lord E. Fitzgerald; il dès-lors acquis des droits l'intérêt de veuve: c'est ce seul titre qu'elle s'est permis de le témoigner. Monsieur Morris a chef d'un corps nombreux d'Irlandais Unis: il est ruiné fond en comble par une suite de dévouement la liberté. Il désire d'aller en France, où il des choses importantes muniquer; il attend premier jour un officier Français, qui commandé quelque expédition, et il espère de faire lui ce voyage. Si ce moyen venoit lui manquer, le Directoire n'ayant donné décision relative Irlandais, je pourrois donner aucun passeport. Il semble cependant qu'il circonstances où une certaine latitude égard pourroit avoir réelle.

Anonymous ■ Bruis.

Hambourg, Novembre 14, 1798.

Les nouvelles ■ Londres ■ 9 ■ laissent ■ doute sur ■ rentrée du Hoche dans le port de l'ennemi ; ■ infortunés Irlandais, qui s'étoient trouvés à bord sont déjà conduits ■ capitale et ne ■ trouvent peut-être plus ■ nombre des vivans. Le point du débarquement fut mal choisi. Il ne faut plus passer au Nord de l'Irlande. ■ raisons ■ trouvent ■ avant-dernière lettre. La division ■ avoit paru ■ les ■ de Killala, mais ■ certitude n'existe sur ■ sort. Une division ennemie, commandée par l'Amiral Howe, ■ ■ poursuite.

■ ■ arrivé dans cette ville un Irlandais réfugié qui avoit quitté ■ pays le ■ Octobre. Il est ■ d'un membre qui compose le Comité Secret des Irlandais unis établi à Hambourg comme un agent très actif pendant l'organisation Irlandaise. Il m'a prié de vous faire passer un mémoire ; il est écrit en Anglais. Vous verrez alors ■ même quel encouragement il mérite. Il est très recommandé par la veuve d'Edouard Fitzgerald, comme ■ ami intime du mari. Je crois qu'il pourra devenir très utile dans ■ descente dirigée ■ pays.

Je suis autorisé, citoyen Ministre ■ le Comité Secret des Irlandais unis de cette ville de ■ prévenir qu'ils sont résolus de correspondre ■ vous ■ tout ■ qui pourra intéresser le sort d'Irlande.

Maragan ■ Talleyrand.

■ Secret.

Hambourg, 2 Frimaire.

Dans ■ précédente lettre, j'ai dit, ■ sujet de l'Irlandais Monsieur Morres, que, pour se rendre ■ Paris, ■ attendoit un ■ Français qui venoit de commander quelque expédition. Cet ■ vient d'arriver : son nom est Tandy. Il n'est point Français, mais il ■ attaché au service de ■ République. Il paroît maintenant que Monsieur Morres ■ veut ■ ce voyage avec lui, et qu'il s'est ■ d'attendre la décision du Gouvernement ■ égard.

TRANSLATION.

Extract of a Letter from M. Marston to Talleyrand.

Most Secret.

Hambourg, 29 Brumaire.

M. Hervey Montmorency Morris, of Kivemall, in Ireland, has called upon me, on the part of the interesting Lady Edward Fitzgerald: he has been outlawed, and fears that he is not safe at Hamburg. He was an intimate friend of the late Lord E. Fitzgerald's; he has, therefore, acquired a right to the kindness of the widow, and is on this ground alone that she has allowed herself to express it. Mr. Morris was the leader of the numerous corps of United Irishmen: he is utterly ruined in consequence of his attachment to the cause of liberty. He wishes to go to France, where he has important matters to communicate. He is expecting from day to day an officer, who has commanded some expedition, and he hopes to make the journey with him. If this means should fail him, the Directory not having yet come to any decision respecting the Irish, it will not be in my power to give him a passport. It seems, however, that there are circumstances in which a certain latitude on this point might be of real utility.

Anonymous to Bruis.

Hambourg, November 14, 1798.

The news from London of the 9th leaves no doubt that the Hoche has arrived in an enemy's port. The unfortunate Irish who were on board have been already conveyed to the capital; and perhaps are no longer numbered among the living. The point for landing was ill chosen. We must give up bearing away for the north of Ireland. My reasons are detailed in my last letter but one. The Rochefort division had appeared off Killala, but there is no certainty respecting its fate. An enemy's division, commanded by Admiral Home, is in pursuit of it.

There is in this city an Irish refugee, who left his country on the 22nd of October. He is known by a member of the Secret Committee of United Irishmen established at Hamburg, as a very active agent during the Irish organisation. He has requested me to forward a Memorial to you; it is written in English. You will then see yourself what encouragement he deserves. He is strongly recommended by the widow of Edward Fitzgerald, as an intimate friend of her husband's. I think he would be capable of doing very good service in any future expedition sent to his country.

I am authorised, citizen minister, by the Secret Committee of the United Irishmen of this city to apprise you that they have resolved to

correspond with you on all matters in which the interests of Ireland are

Maragan to Talleyrand.

Most Secret.

Hamburg, 3 Frimaire.

In my present letter, I have said, concerning Mr. Morres, the Irishman, that, before he [redacted] set out for Paris, he was awaiting the arrival of a French officer, who had recently commanded some expedition. [redacted] officer has just arrived: his name is Tandy [Tandy]. He is not a French- [redacted] but attached to the service of the Republic. It appears now that Mr. Morres will not travel with him, and that [redacted] has determined to await the decision of the Government respecting himself.¹

¹ The vessel in which Napper Tandy and his companions sailed to the coast of Ireland was driven by a storm to the coast of Norway, whence, apprehensive lest they might fall in with English cruisers at sea, they resolved to proceed to France by land. Intelligence of their object and route was received at Hamburg soon after their arrival there, on the 22nd of November. They were traced to the inn called the American Arms. Sir James Craufurd immediately waited on the chief magistrate, and applied for a warrant to apprehend those persons as Irish subjects in rebellion against their Sovereign, but could not obtain it. Not discouraged, however, he made three more applications, and at length obtained an order to the police to the desired effect. On the 24th, soon after four in the morning, Sir James, led by the officers of police, attended by a guard, went to the American Arms, which he completely invested, waiting till the doors were opened, between five and six, when he entered with his escort, which instantly occupied every passage. The master of the house, being then called and asked for the strangers by their travelling names, pointed out their several apartments. Early as it was, Napper Tandy was found writing. The officer who entered his room demanded his passport, which he said with great assurance [redacted] would produce; and, going to his trunk, he took out a pistol, which he presented at the officer saying, "This is my passport." The officer, a man of extraordinary bodily strength, seized and wrested the pistol from him. The guard, called by the scuffle, entered the room and secured Tandy; he and his associates were soon afterwards put in irons and confined, by order of Sir J. Craufurd, in separate guard-houses.

In the morning, as soon as the circumstance was known, Maragan, Minister of France, sent a note to the Senate, claiming Tandy and his colleagues as French citizens, and threatening to leave Hamburg if they were not released: Sir James Craufurd, on the other hand, opposed the demand

Mr. [redacted] to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret.

Whitehall, January 11, 1799.

My Lord—I have the [redacted] of Portland's directions to transmit to your Lordship [redacted] enclosed letter from Captain Wolley, of the *Arethusa* frigate, to [redacted] Nepean, containing some particulars relative to preparations going forward in the ports of Havre and Brest; and I am to desire that you will lay the [redacted] before the Lord-Lieutenant, for [redacted] Excellency's information.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Arethusa, off Havre, January 5, 1799.

Sir—A boat having got off from Havre yesterday, with a [redacted] from whom [redacted] accustomed to receive intelligence, I have thought it proper to despatch the *Thetis* lugger to acquaint you that the ships' companies of the frigates and corvettes in the Basin have been taken out within these few days, and marched off to Brest by land, a few men only being left on board of each ship, they [redacted] wishing to appear in a state of preparation for [redacted] Men are also left to [redacted] of the [redacted] and gun-boats for the protection of the town. They [redacted] also transporting, at a great expense, by land carriage, a quantity in terms equally strong. In this perplexity, the Senate held on Saturday evening [redacted] five o'clock an extraordinary deliberation, which lasted till midnight. Another meeting was held, and the Senate, against the will and remonstrance of Sir James Crauford, ordered two of the prisoners to be unironed. Tandy was in a bad state of health. The French chargé d'affaires, Le Maître, apprehensive for the fate of the prisoners, offered a considerable sum [redacted] money to an officer of the Hamburg regulars who had the guard, to permit their escape; but he indignantly refused it, and proclaimed the attempt [redacted] dishonour him.—(*Ann. Reg.*, vol. xl., *Chron.* 101, 2.)

In the same work it [redacted] said, under date of December 7: [redacted] English [redacted] have sent over instructions to their agents at Hamburg to [redacted] on detaining Napper Tandy, Blackwell, and the other Irishmen [redacted] military service of [redacted] lately arrested [redacted] place.

of [REDACTED] and cordage to Brest, where it is reported a large [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] is equipping.

I am, &c.,

Evan Nepean, Esq.

THOMAS WOLLEY.

*Extract of a Letter from [REDACTED] Henry Alexander¹ to Lord
Castlereagh.*

Armagh, January 12, [REDACTED]

I have, my Lord, to request that this letter may be [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] as an extra-official paper, only weighing [REDACTED] confirmed
by other circumstances, [REDACTED] the most, leading to a hint.

I consider the proclaimed mendicancy of the Speaker by Mr.
[REDACTED] the low cunning of a madman attempting to plunge a man
of sense irrevocably in [REDACTED] abyas. It [REDACTED] a purchase for fluo-
tuating integrity, but, my Lord (excuse my hint), be prepared
for the worst.

The *Dementat prius* has seized Buonaparte, may seize Foster,
for the grand effect, and if he refuses all composition or good
understanding, be prepared for his declining the [REDACTED] to give
energy to his opposition. Rely upon it, he will either join you,
[REDACTED] that he has arrayed an opposition in England, from which
he hopes [REDACTED] shake the English Administration, [REDACTED] that he will be
led further than he means—I shudder to [REDACTED] how far. But,
if he does not explain himself, be prepared for the contingency
of [REDACTED] declining the temporary possession of the chair, and
think of the contingency.

I beg, my Lord, you will [REDACTED] record this possibly absurd
conjecture, but attribute it to the inspiration of the blue devils
and a solitary ride. Believe it also a proof of the confidence I
have in your goodness, and [REDACTED] [REDACTED] yours most truly,

H. ALEXANDER.

Mr. [REDACTED] to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret.

Whitehall, January 12, [REDACTED]

My Lord—I have the honour [REDACTED] transmit to your Lordship,
for [REDACTED] information of the Lord-Lieutenant, by the Duke [REDACTED]

¹ M.P. for Londonderry, Chairman of the Ways and Means.

Portland's direction, a copy of a letter from the Prince of Wales to Mr. Huskisson, confirming the intelligence I transmitted to your Lordship yesterday, of the preparations that are carrying on in the port of Brest. It should seem from the intelligence that the suspicions I entertained of the enemy's having established a mode of correspondence the in Ireland were not without foundation. As this intelligence communicated to the Admiralty, I have not a doubt but that that department will take effectual means as well to defeat the great object of the enemy as to throw difficulties in the way of the correspondence.

I am ever, with the sincerest regard, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret.

Whitehall, January 12, 1799.

My Lord—I have the Duke of Portland's directions to transmit to your Lordship, for the information of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, a copy of a letter from Captain Lloyd, of the Termagant sloop of war, to Lord Duncan, enclosing copies of several letters which were seized by Captain Lloyd's directions, on board the Patrick and Fanny schooner, then lying in the Elbe, and bound to Dublin.

The intelligence which I have been in the of transmitting to your Lordship from Sir James Crauford, by his Grace's directions, for these three or four months past, will probably enable you to discover the real of those among the writers of these letters who may have assumed feigned ones upon occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Termagant, Carhaven, [redacted]

My Lord—I have the pleasure of acquainting your Lordship I have discovered [redacted] which mentioned [redacted]

by the British Minister. But, instead of a ship, a Irish wherry, schooner-rigged, and, instead of the Morgan Rattler, I found her to be the Patrick and Fanny, bound to Dublin. The master, Doyle, no doubt, a Rebel, as your Lordship will perceive, by the affectionate and friendly he noticed by the Rebel writers of the letters: your Lordship will perceive the letters themselves contain little of consequence, but the discovery of the writers will be of great use to the Minister at Hamburg, and those whom they addressed to, to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Two letters, my Lord, the one from Pat Corbet, and the other from Burgess, they were made public, would, no doubt, have excellent plebeians. Pardon me, my Lord, for the observation. I have taken possession of this vessel, and have the master and crew in confinement. The wind has been easterly for days; but, from these circumstances, I have been obliged to remain here until I had settled everything with Sir James Craufurd. This morning I have received another despatch from Sir James Craufurd, who desired I would send a guard up to Hamburg to convey down two prisoners of State, of great consequence, for to take to England; their he does not mention. He likewise requires me, in his Majesty's name, (which there is necessity for) to remain here that service. I have, therefore, sent the first lieutenant and a proper guard to convey these traitors down to the Termagant. I must acquaint your Lordship that I have a convoy of sixteen sail; and, as the winter is now setting in very severely, and the port of Hamburg is already shut up by the ice, I think it my duty to acquaint the of the merchantmen that I be considered their convoy, and delivering out their instructions: they may sail, if they please, thereby to evade the Act of Parliament, and probably, in the end, save them from a winter's confinement in the small harbour of Cuxhaven, or many from being lost, be the case, if winter now seriously setting in, which has every

do at present. Most of these vessels are in the Great part of the Hart's convoy are arrived. I am here I will send her with this convoy, and shall attend particularly the Minister's wishes relative to the ships in Hamburg; and the moment those are brought down, I shall use the utmost despatch in conveying them to Yarmouth. Thus have I acted several parts unknown to your Lordship; but, as I am for the welfare of his Majesty, I hope I will meet with your Lordship's approbation.

Since I wrote the above, I am informed by the master of a London trader, who is arrived from Glückstadt, that the harbour is frozen up as far down as the mouth of Blackenhagen, six miles below Hamburg; consequently, the communication by water with that city is entirely shut up for the winter.

The Minerva, Captain Krampts, that I gave your Lordship an account of through the Minister, is not yet sailed; she has been ready six months; she is at Altona; consequently, she will proceed this winter. She is a ship with a lion head, yellow sides, and copper bottom, and sails exceedingly fast. I sent to Altona for this information, 11 November.

Since the above, the wind is changed to the W.S.W., and the weather is become much milder. But it is the general opinion, my Lord, that Hamburg will continue frozen up for the winter.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

DAVID LLOYD.

The Patrick and Fanny is about 100 tons, loaded with oil, honey, figs, lemons, vinegar, cream of tartar, and plums, and is signed by various people in Dublin.

Captain D'Auvergne, Prince of Bouillon, to Mr. Huskisson.

Jersey, January 8, 1799.

Sir—I have the honour to acquaint you, for your information of Mr. Secretary Dundas, that orders, dated the 30th of

December, have been received at the different ports, on the neighbouring coasts, to lay an embargo on all the privateers they send into port, their ships be immediately escorted by the gendarmerie to Brest, where the [redacted] again circulated that all the ships susceptible of [redacted] to be equipped [redacted] navigated to the Mediterranean. The frigate launched at Solidor in November last, [redacted] which [redacted] nearly ready for sea, has been also suddenly ordered to be dismantled, and her rigging and [redacted] [redacted] commanded for [redacted] by land, about [redacted] hundred miles, which [redacted] to prove the excessive penury of stores at the latter port. The communication by small smuggling vessels from the western part of the peninsula of Brittany is still maintained with Ireland, and there is a French agent at [redacted] a place called Arklow, on the [redacted] of Ireland, who communicates with Roscoff; the pretext [redacted] smuggling, but the real purpose [redacted] the transmission of [redacted] correspondence. I have the honour to be, &c.,

D'AUBERKE, Prince of Bouillon.

The Duke of York to Lord Camden.

House Guards, January 13, [redacted]

My Lord—Your Lordship seemed anxious, when I had the pleasure to see you last Friday, to be acquainted with Lord Cornwallis's sentiments concerning Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, of the Royal Irish Dragoons. I have the pleasure to enclose to your Lordship an extract of a private letter from Captain Taylor to Colonel Brownrigg, received this morning, which, I trust, will be thoroughly satisfactory to your Lordship.

I am, my Lord, ever yours,

FREDERICK.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Taylor, to Colonel Brownrigg.

Dublin, January [redacted] 1799.

I have so many points to write to you upon, that I hardly know which to begin with. The most important, however, is to answer yours of the 5th respecting the 5th Dragoons, [redacted] I [redacted] no time in laying before Lord Cornwallis. He has [redacted]

rected me to state that his motives for not recommending officially the reduction of the regiment principally delicacy towards Lord Rossmore, who was Commander-in-Chief in Ireland before him, is now in the kingdom, and had, a very considerable period, the regiment within a few miles of his own house. He is of opinion that the regiment ought to be reduced, and that the example is extremely desirable, in order to bring the officers of other regiments in this kingdom to a proper sense of their duty. He wishes, however, for the reasons I have stated, that the decision should originate in England, and has desired me to state to you, for his Royal Highness's private information, that he strongly recommends the measure, but, at the present time, he trusts that an arrangement will be made to prevent Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart suffering any disadvantage. His individual exertions have been as meritorious as possible, and strongly entitle him to the marked consideration; and Lord Cornwallis will feel obliged to you to represent in the strongest terms to his Royal Highness his very great anxiety that his merit may not be suffered to pass unnoticed. His Excellency concludes that, in the event of a reduction of the regiment, the officers will be placed on half-pay, and what he wishes is that Stewart should be attached, as supernumerary Lieutenant-Colonel, to a regiment in England, in which some of the Lieutenant-Colonels may be absent from Staff employment, or otherwise, until he can be otherwise provided for.

Lord Cornwallis to the Earl of Ely.

Private.

Dublin Castle, January 12, 1799.

My dear Lord—Lord Castlereagh has communicated to me your Lordship's letter of the instant.

I exceedingly that the outline of the proposed arrangement between the two countries was sufficiently digested previous to your departure so as to enable me to explain to your Lordship the general ideas of the King's Minis-

upon an interesting and important subject. As it is proposed, before any specific plan is submitted to Parliament for consideration, the measure should be previously introduced into by Commissioners, your Lordship will have ample time to consider it in all its parts, before it can be brought to a final decision. The King, by the advice of his Ministers, is under a duty earnestly to recommend to Parliament in both kingdoms, to direct their immediate attention to the measures as may appear to them best calculated to strengthen the connection, and to counteract the systematic attempts of foreign and domestic enemies to separate them.

I am confident your Lordship's disposition to give all the assistance in your power to his Majesty's anxious endeavours to promote the happiness and security of Ireland will determine you, without hesitation, decidedly to support the full and fair investigation of a measure of such magnitude, in order that it may be submitted, with every light that can be thrown upon the subject by the collection of the most extensive information in both countries, to the mature deliberation of Parliament.

I think it my duty to acquaint your Lordship that your opposition to a proceeding so reasonable in itself, and which his Majesty's Ministers consider as indispensable to the internal tranquillity of Ireland and to the security of the Empire, would be considered by the King's servants in both countries as an absolute separation on the part of your Lordship from your friends from all connexion with his Majesty's Government — an event which would be an equal subject of regret to me in my private and public situation.

I cannot conclude without earnestly requesting your Lordship's presence as early as possible, and trust you will be sensible of the indispensable necessity of losing no time in apprizing your friends of your wishes and support of the King's Government.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Clanciarde to Lord Castlereagh.

London, January 14, 1801

I feel your Lordship great importance of the measure about to be submitted to the consideration of the Parliament of Ireland, and those feelings impress me with due regard of the deliberation necessary, before any opinion should be formed on a subject of such moment and delicacy. On ordinary political occurrences, party-connections and motives of self-interest may influence the decisions of individuals. On an occasion like the approaching one, the general good and public advantage ought alone to influence. But, if allowances are to be made for the bias which naturally arises from political attachments, and from the wish to express a sentiment of gratitude to Government for favours conferred on the people, it is certain that such considerations can attach to me. In every situation into which I have fallen, it has been both my endeavour and my good fortune to acquit myself to the satisfaction of those whom I served under and with. There is no person, either individually or professionally, who has fewer favours to boast of or to acknowledge than myself; and it is not unknown to your Lordship that occasions have occurred, however trivial they may have appeared to others, which have afforded me ground for complaint of disrespectful treatment. Though I profess myself to be as susceptible as any man, there are occasions on which personal resentments ought to yield; and, without meaning to pledge myself in any shape with regard to my political conduct, I freely avow that the measure of a Union is of that description.

I am but candid to acquaint your Lordship that, having heard some County meetings had been convened to bring the measure under discussion, I authorized my friend in Connaught to say that my opinion went against such proceedings, until the intentions of Government, with respect to

the conditions of the projected Union, better known and understood.

Before the end of the month, I hope to be in Dublin.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CLANRICARDE.

Right Hon. Edmund Conolly to Lord Castlereagh.

Castletown, January 16, 1799.

My dear Lord—I continue very ill with this cursed influenza, and my exertions in riding after the banditti have rather thrown me back; but give my love to Lord Cornwallis, and let him be assured that if I am able to speak sentences, I will do it Tuesday next, as nothing was, or is, my heart the consolidation of the strength of both islands into Legislative Union. If this be done, in spite of the private interest of one of and the sical noisy clamour of the other, I shall die content.

I will call on Lord Cornwallis the Park either to-morrow or Thursday morning, if I am able to tell him what I tell you, being

Your affectionate Uncle and Friend,

T. C.

Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, January 16, 1799.

My Lord—In pursuance of your Excellency's wishes, I lost no time in laying before Majesty's confidential servants draft you me of your intended speech the opening of Session, and I have the honour of returning to you enclosed, with such alterations upon the best consideration of it, we induced recommend to you. Your Excellency will observe that, with the exception of two suggestions at most, the alterations submitted you are principally to the style or which some of the sentiments originally expressed, and omission of

and the transposition of another, and I have therefore avoided specifying them in the [redacted] of marginal notes, conceiving [redacted] your Excellency would [redacted] judge of their bearing and general [redacted] by their being inserted in [redacted] places in which they are [redacted] to stand, and being presented to you in the usual form of a Speech. The only material alteration occurs in [redacted] paragraph respecting foreign [redacted]. There [redacted] now, [redacted] your Excellency will recollect, nine [redacted] due from the Continent, [redacted] [redacted] other intelligence [redacted] thence but what [redacted] received by [redacted] of the French papers; and, though the [redacted] they [redacted] [redacted] probably exaggerated, [redacted] could not [redacted] ourselves justified in encouraging expectations, which you certainly [redacted] a right to hold out when your Speech [redacted] [redacted] drawn. It was therefore thought advisable to give another turn to that [redacted] tence, and rather to state the effects which the [redacted] of his Majesty's arms [redacted] entitled to operate upon other Powers than to anticipate the advantages their exertions may produce.

With respect to the paragraph which is omitted, it appeared [redacted] [redacted] that it [redacted] liable to constructions so very different from the intentions with which we knew it to be dictated, and [redacted] pable of producing such unpleasant sensations and uneasiness in the minds of [redacted] of the best friends of Government, that [redacted] would be likely moreover to be used as a pretence for discussions [redacted] suited to the gravity and temper becoming the great subject of their deliberations, that we did not hesitate to strike it [redacted] of [redacted] Speech, and [redacted] persuaded that your candour will [redacted] you [redacted] admit the caution and discretion by which [redacted] have been governed in this respect.

The transposition of the paragraph which points directly at [redacted] Union, as well as the other alterations, will, I think, [redacted] plain themselves, and consequently make it unnecessary for [redacted] to [redacted] anything [redacted] on this subject.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Lord [redacted] to Lord Castlereagh.

Arlington Street, January 16, 1799.

Dear Castlereagh—I received your letter late last night, and I should not be candid with you, if I did not say, with no little concern and pain, that it is the first line I have received from you since we parted. The anxiety I have felt upon the subject of Ireland, the anxiety I flattered myself you would feel upon the subject of my health, has made me perhaps consider your silence more deeply than I should otherwise have done. However, having thus unburdened what has been upon my mind, I will be ready to admit, in your case, what I have been in the habit of allowing, that business has prevented your writing to me.

Your letter and Lord Cornwallis's despatch of last night are rather discouraging. I thought so little encouragement had been held out to Lord Ely, that I desired to see him on Friday last. I found him biased against the measure, but, as he said, open to conviction; and, upon my asking him how his friends would vote on the 22nd, that an amendment should be made to the Address, he told me they waited for instructions from hence.

I lost some time in acquainting Mr. Pitt with the state of Lord Ely's mind, and he came up to town on purpose to see him. I collected from Mr. Pitt that he gave Lord Ely to understand his objects would be attended to, and, in such events, I understood that his friends would not object to the discussion of the Address, and that therefore they will not join in any amendment to the Address. Lord Cornwallis will, I expect, hear from the Duke of Portland on the subject.

Lord Downshire called upon me to-day, but I was not at home. I hear his conversation is hostile, and yet, when he understands that Ministers make a point of carrying any question, I doubt not he will support them.

I am sure the minority will be very large, and I do not learn

■■■■ middling ■■■■ express a favourable opinion, which will make it difficult to carry the measure. John La Touche is decided in his opposition as to the time of bringing the measure forward, and says that all his family will vote ■■■■ idea.

Lord Cornwallis's letter respecting the 5th Dragoons arrived while I ■■■■ confined; I therefore did not see it till Thursday last, when the Duke of Portland brought ■■■■ me with the King's remark upon it, ■■■■ very strong, but ■■■■ not quite authorize the regiment's being broke. As Lord Cornwallis's public letter ■■■■ not recommend that measure decidedly, ■■■■ King's note did not completely authorize it, I entreated the Duke of Portland to delay his official letter ■■■■ the next day, but he wrote me word that he had sent a messenger to Windsor ■■■■ account of my remark ■■■■ his Majesty's note; and, ■■■■ the King had positively in explanation ■■■■ the regiment ■■■■ be broke, he could not withhold that communication from Ireland.

I went to the Duke of York the next day, and nothing could be ■■■■ kind, and, as it should seem, ■■■■ sincere, than his ■■■■ preessions with respect to Charles; but he said, as an example, he thought it necessary to advise the breaking of the regiment. He ■■■■ he would read ■■■■ Captain Taylor's letter to Colonel Brownrigg, which ■■■■ also very flattering to Charles; but, in this private letter, the absolute breaking of the regiment ■■■■ advised, although the public letter has not gone ■■■■ far. Thus this matter stands. I fear it ■■■■ impossible to prevent the regiment being broke: but allow me to ask, why is this regiment ■■■■ singled out; and why, after notorious disaffection or ■■■■ ardies in the Longford and Kilkenny regiments, ■■■■ above one hundred of them going over to the enemy, ■■■■ they suffered to ■■■■ !—and why ■■■■ such a step ■■■■ by the Lord-Lieutenant without ■■■■ communication with ■■■■ Secretary, when ■■■■ brother ■■■■ commanding officer?

I ■■■■ ■■■■ advise Mr. Pitt to send over all those persons

have offices, Lord Carhampton¹ among the rest. I Parnell has not kept his word as to the time of his arrival. That is of all others the *shabbiest method of acting*. Beresford London yesterday. I think you make it point with those whom you have any influence, agree any amendment Address, which give you time, Pitt's statement got principal I suppose Foster² will hardly remain Commissioner, if the Speaker continues hostile.

In reading over what I have said beginning of my letter, I I have expressed myself very strongly. You will, however, it.

Believe affectionately yours,

CAMDEN.

You will observe the Speech is considerably altered.

Sir John Blackwood, Bart., to Lord Castlereagh.

January 14, 1799 [1799.]

My Lord—I received in a letter yesterday, from your office, of the 7th instant, an unusual summons me, by the direction of the Lord-Lieutenant, to attend in Parliament on instant, on business of the greatest importance, which will be submitted to Parliament on that day, &c. I have been a member forty years; by many of the Lord-Lieutenants I have been honoured even with social intercourse; none, however, have presumed to call for my attendance on any Parliamentary subject. the first, without any previous knowledge of who has condescended to in the style as to of the vassals of Administration. only authority I acknowledge is that of our Speaker, as directed by the call of our House.

I wish to inform the Lord-Lieutenant that I have the pride feeling my independence—*nullius in verba jurare magistri*—a pride I would not for any honour,

¹ Luttrell,

² Foster, son of Speaker.

station, place, or pension in his power to grant; and, while I can [redacted] my own opinion and judgment on all public questions, I will [redacted] part with the approbation of my own mind, nor permit [redacted] interposition of any Lord-Lieutenant [redacted] expressing my indignation at [redacted] treatment.

Your Lordship knows I had intended to have attended my duty; let it not be said I attend by the persuasion of [redacted] Excellency's [redacted]. *Entre nous*, as to the [redacted] question, I [redacted] not be finally determined till I shall [redacted] heard [redacted] digested the best information on the subject in the House. I am now consulting [redacted] as well as late constitutional authorities, as I [redacted] take assertions for historical truths.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

JOHN BLACKWOOD.

If you can foresee that the business of the Union may not [redacted] on the [redacted] of February, as your last information suggests, I will be obliged by the earliest intelligence, as my [redacted] will be benefitted by the delay, the length of the day and the warmth of the weather increasing. [redacted] filling up the vacancies will require more time than you mention, and it will be decent to have the fullest House possible.

Lord Castlereagh to the Right Hon. D. Latouche.

Private.

Cleveland Square, January 16, 1799.

My dear Sir—I [redacted] directed by my Lord-Lieutenant, upon my leaving Ireland, [redacted] take the earliest opportunity of communicating with you [redacted] the important question of [redacted] Union. I regret very much that your absence from town may deprive me of an occasion of submitting to you the outline of the proposed arrangement, [redacted] intended to be submitted [redacted] Irish Parliament on their meeting. [redacted] Excellency [redacted] truly [redacted] to be informed of your sentiments on the measure, well knowing the authority your opinion will carry with it: [redacted] relies with confidence [redacted] the [redacted] principles upon which [redacted] measure [redacted] brought forward [redacted] with your approbation.

I shall return to Ireland the end of the week ; should you by chance come to [redacted] during my stay, I [redacted] it a great favour to be honoured with an interview.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

[redacted] *Duke of Leinster* [redacted] *Lord Castlereagh.*

Carton, January 16, 1799.

My Lord—I am favoured with your Lordship's letter [redacted] 15th, informing me that you [redacted] directed by [redacted] Lord-Lieutenant [redacted] acquaint [redacted] business of [redacted] greatest importance will [redacted] submitted to Parliament on the [redacted] day of the session, [redacted] hoping that it may suit my convenience to [redacted] Dublin previous to that time. I suppose this business of importance must be the question of the Union. It is with real concern that I should be obliged to take my seat in the House [redacted] Lords, [redacted] oppose any measure that [redacted] from [redacted] [redacted] of Cornwallis; as I [redacted] [redacted] humane conduct since arrival here merits the applause of every honest, independent [redacted] I only dread the consequences if the [redacted] is persevered in. Having made up my mind upon the subject, I [redacted] determined to give [redacted] question every opposition I can ; therefore, do [redacted] [redacted] any necessity [redacted] my attendance [redacted] the [redacted] [redacted] is laid [redacted] Parliament. I remain, &c.,

Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Inchiquin to Lord Cornwallis.

Bath, January 16, 1799.

I have but one opinion or wish on the subject of your Excellency's letter, and that has been for many years [redacted] same, from my thorough knowledge of the fixed spirit and disposition of the lower Papists of Ireland, that nothing but a Union can keep that bigoted spirit within bounds, independent of the great and general benefit [redacted] will be to this

kingdom, only in commercial advantage, but and civilization, by the spreading of manufactures through south south-west of the kingdom, present little removed original barbarism. If Government not carry the into effect, their power influence will for ever lost in Ireland.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

Downing Street, January 17, 1801.

My dear Lord—I received this morning your letter, closing a paper respecting the contribution of Ireland to the general expense, the suggestions of which I think great attention, particularly that (which is a very material addition to the ideas before stated) relating to the gradual equalisation of taxes, and consequent abolition of all distinction matters of I will lose no time in having an account drawn out of the produce and of duty every material article here, and will be much obliged to you if you will let the be done in Ireland, that judgment may be formed how such equalization might be effected.

Lord Ely, with whom I had a second conversation yesterday, is out for Ireland this morning. He professes to be quite unprejudiced, but is apparently very well disposed; and, I rather hope, has made up his mind to support.

I had a very long conversation with Lord Downshire,¹ who is full of alarm from the consequence of pressing the I urged to him every degree of argument and persuasion that I thought likely to weigh with him, but cannot be sure I succeeded in anything but convincing him that, in all events, the Union will be persisted in. I endeavoured in vain to give him a positive assurance that he would be immediately, or write to his friends for support, but could not bring him to a point, and he, apparently undecided and embarrassed.

¹ Arthur, Marquis.

Lord Conyngham¹ has just been [REDACTED] say that, expecting Lady Conyngham [REDACTED] confined every day, he [REDACTED] go over to the meeting, but will be there by the beginning of February. In [REDACTED] time, [REDACTED] language [REDACTED] perfectly friendly; but [REDACTED] expresses a strong wish to know whether he [REDACTED] likely [REDACTED] be elected [REDACTED] of the twenty-eight Peers for Ireland.²

[REDACTED] Duke of Portland sends [REDACTED] the Lord-Lieutenant a suggestion with respect to the mode of proceeding, [REDACTED] which [REDACTED] shall be anxious to receive [REDACTED] early answer, [REDACTED] shall be guided by [REDACTED] fixing the time of considering the King's Message. In the [REDACTED] while, we shall [REDACTED] Tuesday only [REDACTED] Address of form, and probably [REDACTED] that day se'nnight, in [REDACTED] instance, meaning to put it off longer, if, on hearing from you, it should become necessary.

Believe me, my dear Lord, yours very sincerely,

W. PITT.

I omitted to mention that Lord Alton³ has been with me, with very strong [REDACTED] of support. I do not trouble Lord Cornwallis with a separate letter, as he must have enough upon [REDACTED] hands.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, January 17, 1799.

My Lord—The anxiety with which Lord Castlereagh represented the advantages which would be likely to result from the general plan of the Union being opened on the part of this kingdom, previous to its being discussed in that of Ireland, [REDACTED] engaged his Majesty's servants to consider the [REDACTED] by which [REDACTED] wish could [REDACTED] fulfilled; and I incline [REDACTED] hope [REDACTED] Papers No. 1 and 2, which I send your Excellency enclosed, will appear [REDACTED] you to remove [REDACTED] difficulties which, according to the mode of proceeding laid down [REDACTED] my despatch of

¹ Henry, second Baron; created Viscount 1789, and [REDACTED]

² His Lordship became one of the Representative Peers.

³ John Denis, third Earl. He was created Marquess of Sligo.

_____, which _____ over by Lord Castlereagh, _____ nearly rendered his wish unattainable, and have made it _____ impracticable, in so early a stage of the business, to have entered at large into a detail of its extent and effects.

Great stress having been laid upon the facilities and benefits _____ would arise _____ of the appointment of Commissioners, _____ becomes necessary, on making an arrangement, upon the plan _____ for by Lord Castlereagh, to form it in such a manner as should unite those two objects, and, if I do not much deceive myself, the plan which I have now to transmit _____ your Excellency will be found to comprehend them both. With this view, you will observe, that, although the appointment of the Commissioners is not, as was originally intended, the first step to be taken after the Address, it is only deferred until the principles upon which _____ is to be entered into have been discussed and agreed upon, which I think must be considered to be the fairest and most ingenious method that _____ be adopted, and _____ certainly _____ conformable to the common practice which obtains in all analagous transactions, whether of a public or of a private nature. It is hoped, besides, that, by laying down _____ preliminaries certain general principles, by which _____ consultations _____ to be governed, and which would be looked upon by the Commissioners in the light of general instructions, much time may be saved; and, the foundations _____ outline of _____ great work having been thus mutually agreed upon, _____ very first meeting of the Commissioners may _____ employed in settling and marking out the detail of those particulars _____ are necessary to complete the several members of this great arrangement.

_____ Memorandum which your Excellency receives _____ makes it unnecessary for me to enter into further reasonings in justification or support of this deviation from the original plan; but, lest objections should be made to it upon the ground of _____ delay which may be _____ by _____ dissimilarity in the mode of proceeding in the two Parliaments, I wish to observe

that it is impossible that that difference can affect the progress of the measure in any degree whatever to its prejudice. It is admitted, on all hands, that decency requires that a fortnight intervene between the Address of your Excellency's speech and the first discussion upon the subject of Union. Parliament, no such interval is requisite; in a week's time or less, should it be desirable, the consideration of the King's Message may be gone into, and the Resolutions, if agreed to, may be officially communicated to your Excellency by the earliest time which it is to be in your contemplation to appoint for resuming the question; but the facts and arguments respecting this part of the measure are so fully and clearly stated in the Paper No. 1, that I forbear saying any more upon it. But, notwithstanding the preference it must appear that we feel for proceeding in the mode above proposed, not only from the probability it affords of expediting the conclusion of this great work, but from its embracing two objects your Excellency most at heart, your Excellency will understand that our fixed determination respecting it will be suspended until an answer be received from you to this despatch. It is impossible that it should reach us in time for fixing a day for the consideration of his Majesty's Message, which it is proposed should be the instant. Notwithstanding the facility which good sense and good humour of the people of this country afford to secure the accomplishment of it, we must look to your Excellency's local knowledge and experience for the means which will be likely to convince the Irish of the advantages which they are desirous of conferring upon them; and you may be fully assured that no step whatever will be taken in any stage or part of the measure until your opinion has been received of its probable result. But, if you shall not have signified to me, on or before the 29th, your consent to the mode of proceeding now proposed, and in terms that admit of no doubt of your opinion in its favour, it will, as the case may happen, either not be

at that time, or be totally withdrawn, and the mode contained in the detailed plan of ~~measures~~ communicated to your Excellency by Lord Castlereagh will be resorted to and adhered to, unless your Excellency should suggest any better means of bringing the ~~measures~~ forward than has hitherto occurred. But I ~~am~~ ~~am~~ strongly impress upon your Excellency's mind ~~the~~ determination of ~~His~~ Majesty's ~~Minister~~ to propose ~~a~~ measure without delay to the Parliament of ~~the~~ ~~the~~ kingdoms, and ~~to~~ support it with ~~all~~ the weight ~~and~~ energy of Government. I have ~~the~~ honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Mr. J. D. Grady to Lord Glentworth.

York Street, January 17, 1799.

My dear Lord—Upon the formation of our political ~~connexion~~ ~~connexion~~, which, strong ~~as~~ it is, cannot exceed my personal attachment ~~to~~ you, I expressed my determination, in concert with your Lordship, to support the administration in Ireland. Under this impression, I have uniformly acted; and, if the minister of this country had found himself embarrassed by a profligate and desperate faction, either in ~~the~~ ~~the~~ of Parliament, I am persuaded your Lordship feels that I would ~~not~~ have been an ~~active~~ or inactive adherent. Hitherto, the ~~measures~~ of ~~the~~ administration have ~~had~~ little opportunity of manifesting the zeal and decision with which, in a more difficult conjuncture, I would have asserted these ~~mutual~~ mutual principles, as the opposition ~~to~~ them in the present Parliament has been languid and unpopular. The present measure, however, ~~is~~ a ~~complexion~~ complexion, and will be encountered by ~~an~~ opposition ~~from~~ from talents and popularity.

Without discussing the question, which the limits of a letter will not allow, ~~which~~ which was ~~perhaps~~ perhaps foreseen by ~~the~~ most experienced in politics at the time of my connexion with your Lordship, I think it ~~right~~ right to ~~say~~ say you how pregnant of injury the ~~measures~~ ~~to~~ me. Should I omit doing so,

I feel you might hereafter reproach me for not stating my [REDACTED] and the loss I had sustained in my expectations [REDACTED] profession; when, under a change of men and measures, (however it might [REDACTED] your wish) [REDACTED] [REDACTED] equally impossible for you or me to remedy the evil. Were I [REDACTED] address myself to a stranger, [REDACTED] might be matter of delicacy to state how I am circumstanced with respect to my profession; [REDACTED] in [REDACTED] your Lordship may know, and [REDACTED] judges of the land know it, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] emoluments I reap from my profession produce [REDACTED] have produced me such [REDACTED] income [REDACTED] has enabled me [REDACTED] purchase [REDACTED] moderate and respectable independence; of a great portion of that I [REDACTED] likely to be deprived when my unequivocal support of the present measure [REDACTED] be known, from the spirit of party which obtains, [REDACTED] the declarations avowed [REDACTED] the part of the agents to exclude from the emoluments of the profession such barristers [REDACTED] [REDACTED] take an active part in favour [REDACTED] [REDACTED] question.

[REDACTED] may perhaps account to you for the conduct of a gentleman of my name, who, however connected with a personage in the highest situation in this country, falls not to blow cold on the measure, in the apprehension of being the object of an attorney's interdict. Let [REDACTED] add, also, [REDACTED] I suffer much in my expectations, because, if I pursue my profession, I must remain in [REDACTED] country; and it is [REDACTED] to say [REDACTED] an individual here, however industrious or intelligent as [REDACTED] barrister, unknown [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] minister in the Imperial Parliament, [REDACTED] expect that situation of which, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] member of the Irish Parliament, time, seal, and [REDACTED] for judicial situation acquired [REDACTED] [REDACTED] through practice, might induce [REDACTED] reasonable hope. To ambition, connected also with emolument, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] serious impediment; it would indeed, [REDACTED] some respect, be removed if the city which I have the honour to represent were to be represented by two members in the Imperial Parliament; and, [REDACTED] I derive much professional emolument [REDACTED] [REDACTED] connexion in [REDACTED] city, I may even [REDACTED] in [REDACTED] respect

from the charge which may be preferred—that, in the part I had taken, I had not even made an effort to establish for that ancient, loyal, populous, and wealthy city that proportion of representation which, from these its known characteristics, it had a right to expect.

The [] of ambition, emolument, [] professional [] sequence, naturally weighed upon my mind, and the result of [] [] [] I would [] romantically [] to more perhaps than the spirit of my engagement; yet could I not avoid reflecting that others were involved in [] [] [] quences of this my determination, and upon this account I wished you to consider whether I had not a strong claim in [] consideration of the minister for the part which, upon [] question and [] its support, I shall take. Your reply [] that the faith of the British and Irish minister should be pledged to the supporters of the present measure, and, in my instance, to me. [] that I was not to be neglected upon the occasion, and knowing that others had not concealed how circumspect they had been in making—what I despise—a dirty bargain, I this day wished your Lordship to [] to the minister my entire reliance upon whatever he [] on behalf of the British and Irish administration respecting the supporters of the present measure, without [] word in writing to that effect; but, as [] was suggested, and not by me, that such engagement, in the name of [] administration of both countries, would prevent all misunderstanding [] the subject, I of [] could have no objection.

I have written to you, my dear Lord, thus in detail, in order fully [] apprise you of the [] [] my situation, assuring you that I think I shall be a greater sufferer personally and politically by the success of the measure than what is called very high situation in the law-line, [] say, Counsel to [] Commissioners, or Chairman of Kilmainsham, could at all afford adequate compensation for. You will see the necessity of this detail when you know how easy it is to provide for

lawyers who, although in Parliament, have [redacted] business, and, of course, can accept of small situations in their profession.

Yours most sincerely, &c.,

J. D. GRADY.

The Rev. Nathaniel Alexander ¹ ■ *Alexander Knox, Esq.*

Armagh, January 17, [redacted]

My [redacted] Sir—As Henry [redacted] not in Dublin, I [redacted] you a [redacted] lines respecting this neighbourhood, that may [redacted] [redacted] factory to Lord Castlereagh on the subject of the proposed Union. After a great deal of canvassing, it was determined [redacted] convene the County of Armagh; [redacted] the strongest applications were [redacted] to various magistrates, gentlemen of property, to sign a Notice (I understand, from good authority, that Mr. M'Geogh, Mr. Johnston, Mr. More, and others who usually acted with Lord Charlemont, refused); and a paper was yesterday posted up [redacted] our coffee-room, [redacted] to [redacted] Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Armagh, stating that a meeting would be held on Tuesday, the 22nd, in [redacted] Court House of this City, where their attendance [redacted] requested [redacted] consider the present intention of uniting this Kingdom [redacted] Great Britain, signed Caulfeild, Capel Molynaux, Brownlow, Richardson, and Jones. Last night it was taken down. Lord Caulfeild sent to the bookseller, with whom I [redacted] for all the Notices he had printed, and to stop his proceeding [redacted] in [redacted] order, which [redacted] for two thousand; the bookseller had given but few about, but he considered [redacted] obliged to go round and collect them again, which he did. Lord Caulfeild [redacted] out, I hear, this day, [redacted] his [redacted] Dublin.

I had hinted to a friend of Lord Caulfeild's that, if there was a meeting, I should think it [redacted] to propose [redacted] adjournment until after the King's speech, that the people should have time to consider what was to be proposed, and that, as he had convened the County to take the sense of it, I trusted he

¹ Afterwards Bishop of Down.

would be prepared to vote for the Union, if his constituents thought it was for their interest. I write this in a great hurry, as the post is going out, but I trust it will give you an idea of the business.

Yours sincerely,

NATHANIEL ALEXANDER.

Bishop of Limerick to Lord Castlereagh.

Limerick, January 1799.

My Lord—I received the honour of a very polite letter from your Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, expressing a wish that I should attend him in Dublin when I conveniently could, at the very important measure of a Union between Great Britain and Ireland to be brought forward in the two Parliaments of both kingdoms at the opening of the ensuing session, and I should have obeyed his Excellency's commands with alacrity, if my indisposition had not detained me: a complaint, of a very dangerous nature indeed, but peculiarly afflicting to a traveller in a wheel carriage, confines me within the precincts of this city for this fortnight past, by a paroxysm of the gravel, now, I hope, almost at an end, as they do not usually continue much longer. I would, however, risk the pain I should suffer, if my temporary absence could be of any material inconvenience. But, in case of any close division on this question, your Lordship is in possession of my proxy, which I left at your disposal when I had the honour of seeing you last May, just before the commencement of the Rebellion.

Your Lordship knows that I am an Englishman and a Bishop of the Church of Ireland, and therefore you may be assured of my wishes to support any measure that may tend to the ascendancy of the Protestant religion in Ireland, and to the ever the connexion of the two kingdoms; and I trust that you are now convinced, by my adherence to my post in these times of danger, that no personal considerations will induce me to take a lukewarm part in supporting my

principles ■■■ Majesty's Government in ■■■ country. It ■■■ my intention to hasten to Dublin as soon as my health will permit.

■ have not been idle in ■■■ district since this interesting ■■■ been the subject of general conversation, ■■■ do ■■■ ■■■ majority of ■■■ city ■■■ it: they would ■■■ very inattentive to their ■■■ interests ■■■ they ■■■

I have the honour ■■■ be, &c.,

THOMAS LIMERICK.

I am told that my old friend Conolly ■■■ support Government ■■■ occasion!!

■■■ *Hon. Sylvester Douglas*¹ ■■■ *Lord Castlereagh*.

January, 1799.

My dear Lord—It has occurred to ■■■ that ■■■ compilation I made last ■■■ from the debates of the Irish Parliament, ■■■ those of the Roman Catholics of Dublin, of ■■■ in anticipation of the measure of Union, ■■■ from De Foe's history, of similar passages or arguments in the Scotch debates in 1706, might ■■■ you some trouble. I therefore enclose ■■■ copy of it, which I ■■■ for your use and sight only. You will find the Heads of Objection, to the amount of seven, collected in ■■■ 26. The coincidence of those in Ireland ■■■ Scotland is quite extraordinary; and I do not perceive that, in the ■■■ publications and debates ■■■ going forward, anything new ■■■ stated, or anything ■■■ is not, at most, a ■■■ modification of those ■■■ points.

Your Lordship will find ■■■ important document in Lock- ■■■ Memoirs, which is not in De Foe, being ■■■ general Protest against the Union, which the opposers had prepared,

¹ This gentleman, a native of Scotland, was bred to the bar, acquired considerable eminence in his profession, and was appointed King's ■■■ He obtained a seat in Parliament, was nominated to various offices successively in England and Ireland, and resided for some time in the latter country in quality of Chief Secretary. In 1801, he was elevated ■■■ peerage ■■■ Glenbervie.

and the Duke of Hamilton had undertaken to present, but which never was presented, this breach of engagement being one of the singularities of his conduct in that business.

We have been a good deal struck here with the circumstances of a meeting of the County of Lowth being called by Mr. MacIntock, Serjeant-at-Arms to the House of Commons; and we are all, as you may well suppose, what shall pass in Ireland during the next three weeks.

Will your Lordship do me the favour to Mr. to have the goodness to send me any account there may be in print or manuscript of the different rights of election in boroughs. I think, when the schemes of Parliamentary reform in agitation, such was printed—I dare say, inaccurate: however, it would answer my purpose, perhaps.

I am, &c.,

S. DOUGLAS.

Lord Castlereagh Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, January 21, 1790.

My Lord—As I shall not have it in my power probably to-morrow to write to your Grace, I am induced to trouble you by this night's mail with a few particulars of our situation.

I am not enabled to form a very accurate statement of numbers. There is a considerable body undecided: reckon from 160 to 170 with us, if they attend. Mr. Cooke Opposition must be certain, if they assemble. The Speaker is active and appears sanguine. Their party had yesterday a meeting Lord Pery's. His Lordship's was not to fight or divide on the Address, but to wait for a more specific proposition. opinion was by the younger members, who were for starting from the post. I do not understand they came to any determination, but conclude an amendment will be moved to the Address.

I am happy to inform your Grace that Mr. G. Knox¹ has

¹ Brother of Lord

relieved us from all embarrassment by resigning his office: he felt the awkwardness in which he was involving both Lord Abercorn and himself. The Prime Serjeant¹ has declined supporting the measure. Mr. Coote, the Commissioner, has taken his ~~side~~ decidedly with us, ~~and~~ balances Sir J. Parnell in the Queen's County. I am not without hopes that ~~the~~ ~~House~~ may do the same, which will confine the removals at that ~~time~~ to Colonel Foster and ~~the~~ Knox. ~~The~~ ~~House~~ Antrim ~~are~~ strongly with us. ~~Mr.~~ M'Naghten, as a country gentleman, ~~is~~ an important individual: he gives ~~us~~ a favourable ~~impression~~ of the North. The general disposition ~~is~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ measure, particularly the linen trade. I hope ~~the~~ Speaker's boldness in his ~~address~~ to his constituents may ~~also~~ alter their impressions.

We have ~~some~~ thoughts of adjourning, after the ~~business~~ are disposed of, till towards the day on which the House is to ~~be~~ called over, and ~~the~~ proposition made. It cannot materially ~~alter~~ ~~the~~ business; indeed, ~~Mr.~~ Corry is re-elected,² ~~and~~ ~~is~~ not in a situation to proceed with the supply. Keeping the Parliament open without business would expose us to ~~the~~ attacks. As it is intended ~~to~~ send commissioners ~~to~~ Ireland, the delay is immaterial. The ~~address~~ to his Majesty will be moved in the Commons by Lord Tyrone,³ and ~~the~~ by Colonel Fitzgerald, member for the county of Cork; that ~~the~~ Excellency by Mr. Jackson, member ~~for~~ Mayo, ~~and~~ by Mr. M'Naghten, member for Antrim. In ~~the~~ Lords, Lord Glandore⁴ will ~~move~~ the address ~~to~~ the King, and, I believe, Lord Ormonds⁵ to ~~the~~ Lord-Lieutenant. In the ~~House~~

¹ James Fitzgerald, who was removed from his office for opposing the ~~measure~~.

² The Right Hon. Isaac Corry had just been appointed ~~Comptroller~~ of the Exchequer, on the removal of Sir John Parnell.

³ Henry de la Poer, eldest son of George, first Marquess of Water-

⁴ John Crosbie, second Earl of Glandore.

⁵ Walter, eighteenth Earl, created Marquess 1825.

House, the Speakers were allowed to move. Unless the Archbishop and Lord Carhampton¹ shall arrive in time, there seem no prospect for debate.

The violent part of the Orangemen have taken seems to have made a considerable impression in some of the Protestant supporters. Lord Shannon's opinion is materially changed, and I think the Chancellor is a little shaken.

Samuel Lyle, Esq., to Lord Castlereagh.

Coleraine, January 22, 1799.

My Lord—Since I had the honour of seeing you, I have had much conversation with many people in the Counties of Down, Antrim, Derry, and Fermanagh, on the subject of a Union with England, and I find that almost all the thinking people, and those whose opinion is worth notice, are in favour of it, provided the terms from England are liberal: the lower classes do not seem to mind it, and give little or no opinion on the subject.

Our linen manufacture is in the most flourishing state, which makes the wealth of this province, and ought to make us all happy.

I remain, Sir, much respect, &c.,

SAMUEL LYLE.

The Right Hon. Sybester Douglas to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

Bruton Street, January 23, 1799.

My dear Lord—In the uncertainty and anxiety which is relative to what may have passed yesterday in your Parliament, but hoping that the wisdom and ability of your Government have been successful, I enclose you a statement of the great reason to be considered authentic. I have heard by several persons that, for the first years after the Union, Ireland suffered. I know not upon what false data this assertion is made, but the enclosed account of the

¹ Henry Luttrell, Esq.

progressive population is a strong refutation of it in regard to two principal cities of kingdom, and furnishes a considerable argument as to effects of a Union upon Dublin. To this, Adam Smith, who wrote near thirty years ago, not advance anything on slight inquiry, makes no such distinction (which seems absurd in it), but considers the Union having been from the first highly to Scotland.

The Excise and Customs of Scotland the Union produced but £68,000, those of England near £2,500,000. In 1797, the Excise and Customs of Scotland amounted to £1,400,000; those of England only to 17 millions: whereas, in the old proportion, they should have been more than millions. The gross Revenue of Scotland in 1797 between £1,700,000 and £1,800,000.

I am, my dear Lord, &c.

S. DOUGLAS.

Progress of Population in Edinburgh and Glasgow.

EDINBURGH AND LEITH.

GLASGOW.

Years.	Inhabitants.	Years.	Inhabitants.
1706	30,498	From 1666 to 1669	14,565
1706	36,698	" 1660 " 1662	12,901
1712	40,897	" 1690 " 1692	12,714
1755	57,185	1755	31,840
1775	70,430	1791	63,546
1791	85,466	1798	68,706
1798	92,672		
Deduct the } 1706	36,698		
Number in }			
increase in 93 years }	56,381		
since the Union }			

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, January

My Lord—I have the of Portland's directions your Lordship, for the information of the Lord-

Lieutenant, a copy of an account received from Captain Dundas of the enemy's [redacted] in the [redacted]

I have [redacted] honour [redacted] be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

[redacted] of a Letter from Captain Dundas, of H.M.S. Juno, to
Mr. Napier.

January 16, [redacted]

I learn that in the Texel there [redacted] nine [redacted] of [redacted] line, but [redacted] fully manned, five Indiamen fitted for troops and stores, intended for Ireland, and five frigates [redacted] to [redacted] [redacted]. At present, there are [redacted] troops [redacted] the Texel.

The Lord-Lieutenant [redacted] the Duke of Portland.

[redacted] Castle, January 25, 1799.

My Lord—I have to [redacted] to your Grace that the party which on Tuesday supported the amendment to the [redacted] gained last night on the Report sufficient strength to expunge the original paragraph. The leaders of the Opposition [redacted] sanguine in their hopes of cementing the members who voted with them into a fixed Anti-Union opposition, and openly professed their expectation of overturning the present Administration. Sir John Parnell, who made strong declarations on his removal from office of his disinclination to [redacted] in any factious opposition, [redacted] encouraged to enter warmly into the views of the party, and, in his speech, particularly recommended [redacted] House the adoption of a general Resolution, pledging them conclusively against the principle of a Legislative Union. Lord Castlereagh, with a view of breaking [redacted] the party for general purposes, [redacted] an attack upon them, which, towards [redacted] of [redacted] debate, [redacted] to have made [redacted] country gentlemen the more eager to withdraw from their new [redacted] ciates. The question was strongly argued by the [redacted] of Government, particularly by Mr. W. Smith (Baron [redacted] son), [redacted] speech, I understand, [redacted] strongly [redacted]

the measure in the feelings of the House; though it could not be expected to alter the decision of the question.

Lord Castlereagh strongly pressed to decline the agitation of the question during the present session. He decidedly refused entering into any compromise, declaring that he should always keep himself free to propose it whenever the temper of Parliament or of the country appeared to him to render it expedient to do so, and professed that it was a measure which Government would lose sight of, convinced that cool reflection must recommend it to the House and to the country.

Your Grace will be informed, by my despatch, of the result of Mr. Ponsonby's attempt to commit the House. I consider the party partially dissolved; but we must be prepared to find the Opposition considerably increased in strength.

The Speaker, the Ponsonbys, and Sir John Parnell, have all possible inclination to hostility: whether they will be able to assemble numbers with any success on general topics of opposition I cannot yet pronounce. I am confident a considerable proportion of to-morrow's opposition will return to Government.

Mr. J. C. Beresford this morning resigned his office, very liberally expressing his wish to relieve the Administration from all difficulties on his account, and desirous that the support which he intended to afford the Government on all other questions might not be attributed, in any degree, to his wish to retain his situation.

Considering the Speaker decidedly hostile, I cannot look for the possibility of making Mr. Foster an exception to those principles which have been adopted towards other members of the Crown who have opposed Government; but I do not think his dismissal presses so much in point of time as to induce me to proceed without waiting for a communication from your Grace, intimating the general sentiments of the Government on the subject.

Your Grace will recollect that I stated some time since the Catholics stand aloof, apparently with a view of inducing

Government to compromise with them, in order to gain popular strength ■ favour of ■ Union. Since the Opposition has ■ force, I have reason to believe ■ negotiation ■ been set on foot to connect them with the opposers of the ■ I ■ endeavour to collect further information, ■ shall ■ to communicate the result ■ your Grace. ■ ■ that a committee ■ the state of ■ nation will ■ prepared. There ■ every disposition in the leaders of Oppo- ■ follow up their victory with addresses to restore the ■ of the Crown. The Bar have entered into resolutions to give the Prime Sergeant precedence ■ pre- ■ They met with the proper rebuke ■ morning from the chief Judges (particularly the Chancellor) in their respective courts. I propose that the Parliament should adjourn for ten days, to give time for the re-elections, and for the arrangement of business.

Mr. Wickham ■ Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, January 26, 1799.

My Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to transmit to your Lordship, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, a copy of intelligence which has been received from a person in London relative to the intended conveyance of a quantity of ■ and ammunition, with about ■ Irish rebels from Brest to Ireland, to ■ landed ■ Youghall.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WM. WICKHAM.

■ of a Letter, dated London, January 19, 1799.

A scheme is now going forward at Brest, to forward a large quantity of arms and ammunition with about 250 Irish rebels, to be landed ■ Youghall, under the direction of ■ Harnett and Thomas Maurice, natives of that part of the country. I ■ in possession of the ■ of about 100 ■ the party, which, if thought proper, ■ give ■ any

your Lordship may order, I give every information in my power. Yesterday, I wrote to Earl Shannon with the information, as he is in that neighbourhood.

Lord Castlereagh to his Grace the Duke of Portland.

Private.

Castle, January 25, 1793.

My Lord—I endeavoured to explain to your Grace in my last letter the reasons to which I attributed our failure on the Address. The debate operated last night, and induced the House of Commons to forget its duty by the Crown, in punting from its Address notice of the King's declaration of taking into their consideration the best means of strengthening the connexion between the two countries, &c.

The impression of the second debate was very favourable than its issue. It was argued with effect by our friends that the disinclination of the House to adopt Mr. Ponsonby's Resolution was a tacit though not a recorded objection to the future agitation of the subject. The Opposition, exclusive of the Speaker, Sir J. Parnell, and the Ponsonbys, is composed of country gentlemen, who are alarmed at the measure so much to them, and which interferes with their election politics.

Were it possible, by adopting the principle of partial compensation, to give a greater proportionate weight to the counties, without provoking an increased resistance from the borough proprietors, the measure would meet with much less resistance, particularly with that class of men who carry most weight with them—the country gentlemen. Considering the temper of Parliament of the country, I do not see the possibility of re-agitating the question this Session with any advantage; indeed, I have great doubts whether it should be again in the present Parliament, it being, as I think, the honour of stating to your Grace, most unfortunately composed, unless the leading interests can be prevailed on to embark more heartily in its support. Although no deliberative proceeding

should be taken at present in either Parliament, is for your Grace to consider whether much benefit might be derived from a statement from authority, in either or both Parliaments, of the outline of the measure. The might be laid on the table and printed, and proceeded in.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEBRAGH.

PS.—I that Lord Kenmare seen the Lord-Lieutenant, and intimated to him that it was intended to bring the Catholic Question. Your Excellency will write further to your Grace on this subject to-morrow.

Duke of Portland to the Lord-Lieutenant.

Whitehall, January 26, 1799.

My Lord—I have not a moment in laying before the King your Excellency's despatches of the 23rd, which were brought this morning by Captain Taylor, and in consulting the of his Majesty's confidential servants upon the points on which you are desirous of knowing our opinion.

Although the result of the Debate in the House of Commons on your Excellency's Speech from the throne makes necessary for you to defer for the present the consideration of the of Union, and may possibly render it advisable not to resume it in the course of the present session, we are unanimously of opinion that nothing that happened ought to occasion any alteration in the intentions we had formed, or any deviation from the plan which it was in contemplation to pursue; and Mr. Pitt will accordingly open to the of Commons, on Thursday next, the Resolutions of which I enclose your Excellency a copy on the 17th inst., to resume them on the Tuesday or Thursday following, for the purpose of taking the sense of the House upon them, and, should it be as favourable as there is certainly every reason to expect, he

will bring them up in the course of a few days for the concurrence of the House of Lords, whose dispositions, I myself, were too plainly manifested by the which they received the King's message of the 22nd, not to me presume they will feel, upon this important subject, an equal degree of liberality as the Commons and the of the nation, I receive his Majesty's commands to Resolutions of your Excellency, be communicated to the Parliament of Ireland, at such time and in such manner as you shall judge most proper and expedient.

The union of the kingdom is a measure so evidently beneficial to the general interests of Ireland, that it is not possible seriously to suppose that the good of the country will not prevail, and will long get the better of the opposition which it has met with from the passions and prejudices of the day; and it is moreover so necessary to the strength, the security, and the tranquillity of the empire, that his Majesty will never suffer his servants to lose sight of it, nor will they, I trust, be so remiss or unmindful of their duty as to omit or neglect any of attaining so salutary and important an object, and which, unless it be accomplished, will ever leave incomplete that adjustment which is much professed to be the view of the arrangement which took place between the two kingdoms in 1782. This would naturally lead me to observe upon the extraordinary assertions of the Speaker and others, who have affirmed that the proceedings at that time were to be considered as a final adjustment between the two kingdoms; but, though I cannot believe them entirely without notice, I will satisfy myself with referring you to the journals (I believe) of either Parliament, or those of the House of Commons of the country, from the 9th of April to the end of that Session, where you will find the ample of contradicting and putting down the assertion.

I therefore proceed to the only other point which your Excellency expresses, and on which you instructed Captain

Taylor ■■ urge, your desire of being immediately informed, of ■■ ■■■■■ of ■■ Majesty's Ministers—I ■■■■■ ■■ removal ■■■■■ of those persons who have taken a part respecting ■■ Union in opposition to Government. There can be ■■ ■■■■■ the measure to which our feelings would carry ■■ ■■■■■ duplicity and treachery would not receive from ■■ a greater degree of indulgence and forbearance than open and active hostility. But we are sensible that, in such a crisis ■■ ■■■■■ present, other circumstances ■■■■■ be attended to, and that, though it may be necessary to make the Speaker himself ■■■■■ the country sensible that ■■■■■ rank and situation ■■■■■ preserve their employments to such of his family and dependents as act in opposition to the ■■■■■ of Government, it may ■■■■■ be advisable to ■■■■■ the same degree of severity to those who, though they may have shrunk from their duty and given way to the timid and speculative disposition of their minds, have not taken so decided a part as to force you to deem them irreclaimable and incapable of being restored to a proper sense of their duty.

As for the actors of an inferior order, I pass them ■■■■■ entirely, and have only to recommend it to you to rely upon your ■■■■■ judgment respecting the treatment of political offenders of every description. At this distance from the scene of action, the imperfect view and judgment which ■■■■■ be formed of the ■■■■■ of things very little enables me to prescribe the proportionate ■■■■■ of firmness and moderation which the occasions may require. Your ■■■■■ discretion will certainly be your best guide, and I hope ■■ is unnecessary to assure your Excellency that, whatever your decisions may be, you may depend upon their receiving the unreserved sanction and support of ■■ Majesty's servants. Whatever may ■■ ■■■■■ conduct your Excellency may pursue with respect to ■■■■■ delinquents, I ■■■■■ persuaded ■■■■■ every conciliatory measure will be pursued by you, and that nothing will ■■ ■■■■■ on your part which ■■■■■ convince the misguided of their errors,

and that can reconcile them to a proper sense of their own interests, and of ██████ real tendency of the ██████ you have in ██████

Lest it should be possible that the success which may attend the attack to which you ██████ exposed ██████ the report of the Ad-█████ may induce your Excellency to question whether the King's Government here may ██████ be disposed to suspend the intended plan of their proceeding, and alter the language they have hitherto ██████ respecting the Union, I think ██████ right ██████ apprise you that such ██████ was a contingency which ██████ not escaped ██████ consideration, and that I ██████ authorized to ██████ you that, whatever may be the fate of the Address, our determination will remain unaltered and our exertions unabated; and that, though discretion and good policy may require that the measure should be suspended by you during this Session, I ██████ to desire that you will take ██████ that it shall be understood that it neither is nor ever will be abandoned, ██████ that the support of it ██████ be considered as a necessary and indispensable test of the attachment on the part of the Irish to their connexion with this country.

Your Excellency is ██████ so fully possessed of the expectations and determinations of this Government with respect to the Union, that I have only to ██████ that I am, with great truth and regard,

Yours, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

Arlington Street, January 26, 1799.

Dear Castlereagh—Captain Taylor has brought ██████ accounts, which have certainly very much disappointed ██████

It gives me great satisfaction, however, ██████ learn ██████ your exertions ██████ great, and your individual conduct approved of by all the friends of Government ██████ Ireland, as well as here. ██████ information has not ██████ Mr. Pitt's determination ██████ submit ██████ intended ██████ the English Parliament,

and the Lord-Lieutenant will be informed that the measure will be persisted in by the English Government. I am yet to learn how you and others were deceived by the members on whom you depended. It appears by all the accounts I that very few persons in actual office voted against you.

Ever most affectionately, yours,

CAMDEN.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

[No date—Inferred, 1799.]

Dear Castlereagh—I have received, much obliged you your letters. you I told you no more the truth when I informed you that your conduct with the approbation of the Ministers here, and the disadvantages under which you laboured were felt acknowledged to be very great.

Without being upon the spot, it difficult to judge, but I confess I was sorry the thanks to the Speaker were voted as they were, because Mr. Pitt had heard from the highest authority his conduct in the chair had been grossly partial.

I certainly advised you in one of my letters to endeavour to Parnell back your counsels, but his conduct made measure almost impossible, and you know him enough be firmness is the only way of governing him.

I am much disappointed at Foster's intemperate duct, I think, although he is now enjoying a momentary popularity, character will suffer materially.

I singular in my opinion that a decisive be taken with those who act as Speaker has done, and in thinking that a defeat in point of numbers is less to be dreaded than an appearance of being afraid to attack a popular character.

me most affectionately yours,

CAMDEN.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Castle, January 1799.

My Lord—I have it my duty to draw your attention and that of his Majesty's other confidential servants, as well to the measures which are hereafter to be pursued in the Government of this kingdom as to the state of parties, which is likely to result of the late changes of the Union and the removals connected with it, trusting that the points which I have the honour of submitting will receive an early consideration, and that I will receive, with as little delay as possible, directions for the government of my conduct in the several delicate questions which may be brought into public discussion, in the course of the present Session. The question of Union was brought forward upon the principle that two independent Legislatures had a tendency to separate; that the independent Legislatures of Ireland and England had shown a tendency; and that the effects of it were felt in divisions at home, and attempts of invasion from abroad.

Parliament refuses to listen to the question of Union; at the same time, it endeavours to continue and strengthen the connection. The opposers of the Union, with a view of consolidating, as far as possible, their party, and at the same time of diminishing the motives which exist for the adoption of the Union will probably bring forward separately several of the points which are relied on by the friends of Union, in order to render either its adoption less necessary, or to embarrass Government by throwing upon them the burden of rejecting them.

The evils proposed to be cured by a Union are:—Religious divisions, the defective nature of the Imperial connection, commercial inequalities. The motives in favour of the measure have arisen from an expectation that it would lead to a regulation in respect to Tithes, a more comprehensive cause of public discontent in Ireland, and an arrangement in favour of the Protestant and Dissenting Clergy. The ques-

may, probably be, brought forward upon Anti-Union principle, and resistance of by Government tend to divide Parliament and the kingdom Unionists and Anti-Unionists. the establishment of party-principle, the question of and Irish authority will strongly issue. The religious question will probably be up.

It is plain that, upon a mere principle of pursuing power, ambition, revenge, it is the interest of the to obtain political equality without a Union; for, as the general democratic power of the State is increasing daily by general wealth prosperity, and as the Catholics form the greater part of the democracy, their power must proportionably increase whilst the kingdoms separate, and the Irish oligarchy is stationary, or declining. Catholics, therefore, if offered equality without a Union, will probably prefer it to equality with a Union; for, in the latter case, they will be content with inferiority; in the former, they would probably by degrees gain ascendancy.

In addition to the usual supporters of Emancipation, many of the Anti-Union party will now take up the Catholic cause, the better to defeat the question of Union. They will thus expect to detach the Catholics from Government, and to engage the mob of the whole kingdom against the Union. Were the Catholic question to be carried, the great argument for a Union would be lost, at least, as far as the Catholics are concerned: it seems therefore more important than ever for Government to resist its adoption, on the grounds that without a Union it will be destructive; with it, that it may be safe. I am of opinion that the measure hereafter to secure its proposed on a more enlarged principle; but, if the object of Government is to resist the Catholic rather than the question of Union, I much doubt the policy of its present holding out them any decided expectations: it might weaken us with the Protestants, and would not

strengthen us with the Catholics, they look to carry their question unconnected with Union.

With a view to obviate some of the imperial embarrassments arising out of our present principle of connection, a Regency Bill, making the Regent of Great Britain *ipso facto* Regent of Ireland, will probably be proposed—they may also parade of offering to contribute proportionably to general pences; than this I do not think they can attempt to go; and I should beg your Grace's ideas on the mode of meeting these propositions for partial and imperfect modulation.

The Commercial question will be urged and stated not be necessarily connected with Union—it be pressed present, however, with a very good grace, after the Parliament refused even to deliberate on a question of Imperial safety.

Your Grace be aware that the party will carry the feelings of the country more with them upon the question of Tithes than any other. They will press Government to bring it forward, and impute their refusing to do to a determination to force the question of Union by withholding from the people advantages which might be extended to them equally by the Irish Legislature. They will also call upon Government to make provision for the Catholic and Presbyterian clergy, they have been taught to expect it: how far this measure, which necessary in itself, should be postponed and connected with the Union, it is for Ministers to decide.

I have endeavoured shortly point your Grace's attention topics of which Opposition will probably avail themselves, and your Grace will observe their tendency to consolidate Anti-Union party, contending principles common to, short of, maintained by of the measure.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

January 28,

My Lord — Mr. Elliot, who sails, by Lord's desire, for England to-night, will explain to your Grace more in detail than it is possible for me to do in a letter, the circumstances, unforeseen and others apprehended, which occasioned a failure in the measure of Union. Begging to refer your Grace to him for particulars, the anxiety I feel that the King's immediate business in this country justifies your Grace's opinion, in having done their utmost, induces me to transmit to your Grace some papers which will tend to explain the extent to which we were deceived and abandoned by our friends; and I trouble your Grace with a few explanatory observations.

When I had the honour of seeing your Grace, I did not apprehend that the question would have been fought at the Address. I did imagine that, whatever repugnance the House might ultimately feel to the measure, they would not resist the discussion, and that all opposition would be postponed till a specific proposition on the subject brought on by Government. The opponents of the measure, feeling it more advantageous to resist it by clamour than by argument in the several public meetings which took place, the principle of the incompetence of Parliament, and the justifiableness of resistance on the part of the people, more openly relied on this warmth, added to the feelings of the country gentlemen for their country interests, sent them up to town much better prepared to talk treason than to listen to argument on the subject.

Although I have written to every individual member, requesting him to communicate with him on the subject, previous to the meeting of Parliament, many only came to town on the day of the debate, which precluded my seeing them or I could not have seen them in the House. I the less apprehended any bad consequences from this, as I did not conceive that clamour would so

far prevail, as to induce them to refuse to entertain the question. The event, as your Grace has been already informed, happened otherwise; the country gentlemen, if they had been engaged in a fox-hunt, instead of a debate on a most question, seemed to contend who indulge loudly in outery frequently unconstitutional.

This only untoward circumstance. The disinclination, or, at best, lukewarm disposition by Lord Downshire and Lord Ely, threw a manifest damp on our party. This was strongly confirmed by Lord Ely's voting himself in the House of Lords, the early part of the evening. Instead of bringing forward eighteen members, as these noble lords might have done, but five appeared; and one of Lord Downshire's, my colleague, Mr. Savage, voted against us the second night. I could neither be prepared for nor guard against this misfortune by any previous communication, Lord Downshire was absent, and Lord Ely did not land the Lord-Lieutenant at the House, delivering his speech.

The neglect or inattention prevailed, the part of other principal supporters, in bringing forward their members, as your Grace will observe by the list. Some absolutely deceived us; others, from whom our expectations, were deterred by the appearance of disturbance in the metropolis, and even by personal threats: but what seemed to operate most unfavourably, was the warmth of the country gentlemen, who spoke in great numbers and with much energy against the question.

I should despair of the success of the measure in any future period, the weighty opposition of the country gentlemen in our House, were not convinced that their repugnance turns more upon points of personal interest than a fixed aversion to the principle of Union. Indeed, their violence subsided evidently in the progress of the second night's discussion. a acceptable of the Representation

can be made before the measure is again agitated, will deserve the consideration of ministers. I am aware of the strong objections which will be made to the admission of more than one hundred members from Ireland: perhaps they are so weighty as to render the measure inadmissible; but I am no plan which would sacrifice private interest, and put the question at issue upon its merits, of leaving the counties as they stand, with their representatives, giving the thirty-one open boroughs one member each, which would be esteemed equivalent to the two they now return, and giving pecuniary compensation to the remaining eighty-six boroughs for whatever diminution of their value might be occasioned by the mode of classing them adopted. If two boroughs be united, the loss of value will be about half, or £7000, calculating the Irish borough at £2000; if three boroughs be united, the compensation must be proportionably larger: in the former case, the gross expense would be £562,000, or, if funded at six per cent., £33,720 per annum, an annuity of £40,000 would pay the interest and sink the capital in a term of less than forty years. The gross number of representatives, were the above plan adopted, combining only two boroughs, and giving Dublin and Cork two members each, would be 141: if three boroughs are combined, the numbers would be reduced to 126.

I have ventured merely to throw out these general ideas for your Grace's consideration, not presuming to give any opinion on the subject, and feeling that, if there be any either of foresight or liberality in our Parliament, the arrangement recommended by the King's ministers would have been perfectly satisfactory. I great an alteration in the present system of Great Britain was no inconsiderable one to the country, however important the measure may be to the Empire; and its importance every day more strongly in the temper of the country. It is perhaps

Ireland should be left by experience to learn ■■■ interests, ■■■ ■■ tempted by arrangements on the part of England, beyond what either justice or liberality requires, ■■ conform ■■ what ■■ ■■ safety so imperiously demands.

Mr. ■■■ will explain to your Grace how ■■ he thinks the present temper of Parliament and of the country render ■■ revival of ■■ ■■■■ expedient in the present session. I think the agitation of the question has been advantageous, ■■■ within and without doors, to ■■ future ■■■■. A detailed statement of the outlines of the measure submitted to the legislature of both countries, but ■■ proceeded in this session, would probably tend to prepare the public mind for its more favourable reception hereafter.

However I may have failed, from inability, in the discharge of the important trust committed to me, I am confident your Grace will believe there ■■ been no defect of zeal; and I ■■■■ ture to rely on your Grace's favourable interpretation of my conduct.

I have, &c., O.

The Duke of Portland ■■ Lord Castlereagh.

London, Tuesday Evening, January 29, 1799.

My dear Lord—The conduct you have observed respecting the Union, in the two extraordinary debates you have had to sustain, has been ■■ perfectly judicious and so exactly what could have been wished, that ■■ should do the ■■■ of the King's servants, as well ■■ myself, great injustice, ■■■ I ■■ ■■■ ■■■■ assurances of the satisfaction it ■■ given ■■ and of the important advantages we anticipate—■■ should say, with ■■■■ propriety, which have been derived from the temper, the firmness, ■■■ ■■ spirit you displayed on both these important and ■■■ trying occasions; for I ■■■■ attribute to them ■■ happy termination of the business on Thursday, ■■■ ■■ ■■■■ and ■■■■ rout of ■■■ George Ponsonby's motion, ■■ event which, if improved, as I have ■■ doubt it will be, I ■■■■ to as being capable of affording greater facility ■■ security ■■ ■■■■

pletion of the Union than if the Address had been carried by no greater majority [redacted] latterly reason to expect. Without stopping [redacted] reconcile or to account for the apparent inconsistency [redacted] contradiction in the conduct of [redacted] gentlemen who voted against [redacted] concluding paragraph of the Address, [redacted] for [redacted] rejection of Mr. George Ponsonby's [redacted] tion," I should submit to you that every advantage and [redacted] should [redacted] made of it to conciliate and reunite those who show any inclination to have it accepted [redacted] an apology for their [redacted] preceding votes, and who consider themselves open [redacted] discuss the question of Union. And I cannot but hope that the opinion which [redacted] said to have been expressed in the North, [redacted] well as the South and in some parts of the West, in favour of the Union, will be cultivated with every possible attention; and that, whenever (always understood that the attempt should [redacted] [redacted] made until it is warranted by [redacted] suitable temper in the country) [redacted] public declaration of that opinion [redacted] be manifested, it will not be neglected to be obtained. It [redacted] [redacted] if the cry of Dublin had carried away many gentlemen whose interests in all respects must be benefitted by a Union; and I have [redacted] with [redacted] surprise, [redacted] well [redacted] with real concern, [redacted] deference expressed for the opinion of constituents which I conceive to have been [redacted] unnecessary as it [redacted] certainly unconstitutional, and in [redacted] where the representative might have taken the [redacted] and taught his constituents the [redacted] in which they [redacted] [redacted] consider the effects of this [redacted]

Your Lordship will have seen, by my despatch of last Saturday to the Lord-Lieutenant, what is the opinion of the King's servants here on the measure which you suggest [redacted] the conclusion of yours (private) of the 25th. Mr. [redacted] is perhaps [redacted] this time stating in the House of Commons the great principles upon [redacted] [redacted] would be desirable for a Union of the two countries to be formed, (of which you are in possession by [redacted] copy of the resolutions which [redacted] some time since transmitted [redacted] Lord-Lieutenant) [redacted] resolutions [redacted] propose [redacted]

lay before his Majesty with a joint address of the two Houses, submitting ■ to ■ wisdom ■ communicate them ■ ■ government of Ireland at such time and in such manner as he ■ judge fitting. They therefore may — may ■ ■ before ■ ■ Parliament, and discussed then — not in the course of this session, according to circumstances, of which you will be able to inform ■. I ■ ■ persons already very ■ guine in their expectations of a rapid and general change of the public sentiment respecting ■ measure; but, anxious ■ I am for it, for the ■ ■ which I ■ not ■ repeat, I hope you ■ allow us ■ prevail upon you to bring it in again until you ■ ■ that the country is in a proper ■ of mind to adopt it: and, in preparing it for the reception of that measure, I desire that your Lordship will not, from any sentiment of delicacy, ■ other motive whatever, decline calling upon me, or any other of his Majesty's servants, for our co-operation ■ exertions of every sort, and in every way which it ■ to you may, by any possibility, contribute to facilitate its ■ plishment, in which you may depend upon the most ready compliance, ■ with a statement at large of the ■ which induce us ■ withhold it.

I wrote to the Lord-Lieutenant yesterday (which was one of the ■ which prevented my finishing this letter, which, you will observe, ■ begun ■ Tuesday night) on the subject of his conversation with Lord Kenmare, in which I deprecated, in the strongest terms, any encouragement being given to the Catholics to hope for any alteration in their situation, ■ long as the Parliament of Ireland should continue in ■ present ■ ■ I consider that proposition, the more I ■ convinced ■ it ■ ought to be attempted, unless a Union ■ place: that, in the present circumstances—I mean, ■ of Ireland's present independence—it would ■ equally injurious ■ the orderly Catholics, who ■ ■ possessed of landed and personal property, and to the Protestants, ■ ■ would ■ more deluge ■ country in blood, ■ ■ what

is called Catholic emancipation attempted with safety the persons of either persuasion but through the medium of a by means of a United Parliament. Nor do I hesitate to add that, for the sake of the professors of both religions, I hope it will not be one of the acts of that Parliament.

By letters which I have received from Ireland since I began this, great as the fatigue and severe as the trial has been which you underwent, you will allow me at least not to regret it, and very cordially to congratulate you upon the issue of it, and suffer me to join in the opinion and wishes of two of my correspondents, who think you fully entitled to, and who are confident that you must have acquired, by your conduct in those two days, that respect and confidence which will facilitate all the business of your administration and your future course in life. I am, with great truth and regard,

Yours, &c., PORTLAND.

The Bishop of Meath to Lord Castlereagh.

January 31, 1799.

My Lord—I found a note on my table last night, informing me that the Roman Catholics have, by your consent, postponed their intention of coming forward in any way, and resolved not to embarrass Government for the present.

I should submit to your Lordship the expediency of sending Lord Fingall and Lord Kenmare, and whomever they would advise your Lordship to see, and to have conversation with them. If I could further presume to offer my advice, it would be to make the following article of the Union:—That all pains, penalties, and exclusions whatever that are now in force against the Roman Catholics of Ireland should be repealed (excepting the Lord-Lieutenant and principal Secretary), and that their admission to seats in the United Parliament should be to be settled by that Parliament.

I can see no possibility of danger to the Protestant establishment in either country from such a regulation under

[REDACTED] proposed system of Union, although I might fear [REDACTED] [REDACTED] sequences of [REDACTED] under the old system.

I have [REDACTED] honour to be, &c.

T. L. MEATH.¹

Memorandum relative to opposition to the Union from personal interests. By Lord Castlereagh. [REDACTED] to the Duke of Portland. [REDACTED] February 1, 1799.

Exclusive of [REDACTED] difficulties naturally attendant [REDACTED] [REDACTED] measure so novel [REDACTED] [REDACTED] important [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Union, it is worth examining in what degree private interest has obviously opposed an obstacle to its success; with [REDACTED] view, as well of considering how far, by [REDACTED] variation of the arrangement, this mighty impediment may be removed, [REDACTED] of judging [REDACTED] [REDACTED] certain principles with what hopes of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] favourable event it may be revived on [REDACTED] future occasion.

I shall not take into the consideration the opposition given [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] out of doors, in any other point of view than

¹ This distinguished prelate, Thomas Lewis O'Beirne, was of a [REDACTED] family in the County of Longford, and was sent with his brother John to the College of St. Omer, to be educated for the priesthood. On arriving at an age for duly investigating the grounds of that religion, he [REDACTED] [REDACTED] renouncing [REDACTED] creed, and adopting that of the [REDACTED] Church, in which he took orders. At the commencement of the American war, he was chaplain in the fleet under Earl Howe, by whom he was introduced to the Duke of Portland; and he accompanied his Grace to Ireland as his private Secretary, in 1782. When Earl Fitzwilliam was appointed Lord-Lieutenant, he took Dr. O'Beirne with him as his first chaplain. [REDACTED] long afterwards he was promoted to the bishopric of Ossory, and, on the death of Dr. Maxwell, translated to the See of Meath. His letters and papers in [REDACTED] collection, relating to the Roman Catholics, proving his intimate acquaintance with the doctrines, spirit, and institutions of Romanism, are fraught with considerations, which, even at the present day, deserve the most serious attention of all who feel interested in the welfare of Ireland. A singular circumstance in the history of this prelate was that John O'Beirne, adhering to the religious tenets in which he was brought up, after the lapse of years, actually officiated as parish priest [REDACTED] the same diocese over which his brother Thomas presided as the Protestant bishop.

affording more plausible popular pretence for acting upon their own private feelings. The persons naturally committed against a Union may be classed as follows:—

Borough Proprietors—The Secondary Interests in Counties—The Primary Interests in Counties—The Barristers—The Purchasers into present Parliament—Individuals connected with Dublin.

It is scarcely necessary to point out the various modes in which the Union goes to affect the classes above-mentioned. It is evident that borough property must suffer a diminution of value by the proposed arrangement. There being but one Member for each county intended, thirty-two individuals, whose weight returns them to Parliament, must stand absolutely excluded.

The Primary Interests, though not threatened with exclusion, are exposed to contests.

The Barristers in Parliament look to it as depriving them of their best chance of advancement, and of their present business in the Courts, if they support it, the Attorneys having formed a combination for this purpose.

The Purchasers are averse to it, as being a surrender without advantage of the money paid for their present seats.

The Individuals connected with Dublin, right or wrong, consider a Union as tending to lower the value of their property.

Some estimate may be made of the amount of value thus supposed to operate against the Union. It is proposed to alternate 108 Boroughs: taking an Irish Borough at £2000, and an English Borough at £4000, the loss of value on each Irish Borough would be about one-half, or £7000 on each, making in the gross £750,000.

Estimating a County at an equal value, where the superior pride of the situation counterbalances the uncertainty, the loss on thirty-two Counties extinguished would be £224,000.

The superior value of the other seat cannot, as in the

Boroughs, operate as a set-off, as it does not in the case of Counties belong to the same individual; it is only counter-balance, in a certain degree, to the person possessing the leading interests, the superior risk and expence to which he is exposed.

It is difficult to estimate the Private Interests of the Barristers, but it must be pretty considerable; they are about thirty in number, many of whom purchased their seats,—say £4000 each,—taking their families and prospects of situation together, which gives a result of £200,000.

The purchasers into the present Parliament are very numerous; supposing only fifty, at £1500 each, being peculiarly cheap, gives £75,000.

The Dublin influence it is difficult to estimate; it arises out of property and houses, lands, canal shares, &c., which the owners very falsely conceive would suffer in Dublin—call it £200,000. The calculation will then stand thus:—

Boroughs.....	£756,000
Counties	294,000
Barristers	200,000
Purchasers	75,000
Dublin	200,000
	<hr/>
	1,425,000

If the above statement approaches towards the truth, there is a most formidable principle of resistance existing in the nature of the arrangement, which, connected with the general strength of opposition, and supported by local clamour, it is difficult for the weight of administration on the merits of the measure itself to overcome. What sacrifice of national advantage could prevail on the individuals of whom Parliament is composed to sacrifice a million and a half of their own private property for the public benefit! National calamity and popular authority might compel them to do so; but danger more imminent, their preservation more obviously more immediately connected than it is, or the popular authority must be very strong in favour of the measure,

before they will yield their private to their public feelings.

It is presuming to recommend any alteration of the plan of representation decided on, it may be observed that, holding as it does a fair hand between the popular and borough influence, like all compromises, by its impartiality it pleases neither of the parties. If the obstacles above alluded to are so serious as to retard, if not defeat, this great measure, it is worth looking to the possibility of diminishing or removing some of them.

The borough objection may be removed by pecuniary compensation; the county impediment, by giving a second member. The other three classes may be reconciled by any change in the distribution of the representation.

If the principle of compensation is taken up, it can only be applied to the boroughs, which are strictly speaking property, of which there are eighty-six. The boroughs which have an open election do not admit of being so compensated, and therefore require an equivalent in representation for what they possess. Returning one Member to the United Parliament would be felt and admitted to be an equivalent, though it might lead in some towns, as in Limerick, where the influence is divided, to an inconvenient collision of interests. In the description, including the University, there are thirty-two.

Allotting a second Member to counties would be more than an equivalent—it would be an absolute increase of value; it may only be looked on as disarming by far the most powerful opposition we have to contend against. It is a question of expediency; of strict justice, one Member is all they can demand.

The expence of compensation would depend on the mode in which the close boroughs are classed. If the boroughs alternate, if two are joined together, the amount in eighty-six boroughs, at £7000 each, would be £602,000; if three boroughs are united, the expence would be about £800,000. It might be discharged in Debentures bearing an interest of six per cent., which, with the usual sinking fund,

would charge the State, in the former case, with an annuity exceeding £40,000; and the latter about £50,000, for a period.

two be given to the counties, and only two boroughs connected, the numbers would thus :

32 Counties	64
32 Open Boroughs	32
36 Close Boroughs	48
Dublin and Cork, two Members.....	2
	<hr/>
	141

Should three Boroughs be united, the numbers would stand thus :

32 Counties	64
32 Open Boroughs...	32
36 Close Boroughs...	39
Dublin and Cork ...	2
	<hr/>
	127

Should it be thought expedient, with a view of diminishing the gross number of Representatives, to look to the Union more than two boroughs, it may be worth considering whether a certain number of the close boroughs, at the option of the proprietors, might not be bought out altogether, so as not to make it necessary to unite more than two boroughs. Introducing a third, though connected with compensation in its due proportion, would leave an influence of an inconvenient description. The election by three boroughs would be awkward, and be considered by the proprietors as not worth retaining.

In addition to the difficulties above stated, so tending to obstruct the measure, it is to be observed that the County members, either concluding the popular feeling to be adverse to the question, or apprehending that a clamour might be raised against it, upon electioneering principles, were tending with each other which should profess the strongest opposition to it. This motive alone was sufficient to deter every County active party against the measure, which was unequally and with much opposition by the friends of the measure.

William Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, February 2, 1799.

My dear Lord—Though Mr. [redacted] with a full answer to all his written and verbal inquiries, yet [redacted] so important that an explanation which was intended [redacted] have been given through him of a part of Mr. Pitt's speech should not [redacted] delayed beyond [redacted] post, that the Duke of Portland [redacted] desired [redacted] to write immediately to your Lordship [redacted] subject.

In [redacted] tenth column of the *True Briton* of Friday, Mr. Pitt [redacted] made [redacted] say that [redacted] advantages given [redacted] the Irish linen [redacted] by this country [redacted] the effect of a compact between [redacted] two countries; but what Mr. Pitt really said was, that the trade [redacted] present rested [redacted] the independent discretion and the liberality of the Parliament of Great Britain; whereas, were [redacted] union to take place, the trade would in the first place be secured by formal and irrevocable compact, and would besides, from the identity of interest between the two countries, have a security for its continuance worth [redacted] thousand compacts.

I remain, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, Sunday, February 2, [redacted]

My Lord—I [redacted] yesterday the honour of laying before [redacted] King's confidential servants the despatch which Mr. Elliot delivered [redacted] on Friday from your Excellency, and [redacted] hope, by [redacted] result I have to communicate to you of our deliberations, that you will receive all [redacted] information you can desire upon [redacted] several important [redacted] delicate questions you have proposed [redacted] consideration. If, however, I [redacted] have been so fortunate [redacted] to [redacted] myself [redacted] intelligibly [redacted] intended, I have the satisfaction of thinking that Mr. Elliot returns to you with this despatch, and that, from [redacted]

with Mr. Pitt with me upon subjects, and from comprehensive distinctive powers possesses, he will be able to explain any part of it which may appear obscure or confused, and illustrate any passages of it, on the construction of which your Excellency may entertain any doubt.

With respect, then, to the Union itself, the King's Government, which I conveyed to you in the despatch I had the honour of writing to your Excellency on the 10th ultimo, have been so powerfully expressed on that subject by the speech in which Mr. Pitt introduced the Resolutions, and the heads of the Address, with which it was proposed that they should be accompanied whenever they are presented before Majesty, that it would be extremely difficult, and must be almost unnecessary, to add anything to them by way of illustration or explanation; but I must omit to observe that the whole of Lord Castlereagh's conduct throughout the course of the proceeding has been so judicious and correct, that it is the decided opinion of the King's Servants that the line he has hitherto observed cannot be too strictly adhered to, and that no pledge should be offered different from that which he has already given on the subject.

With respect to the Religious divisions which a Union might have tended to reconcile, if any attempt should be made by the Opposition to embarrass you upon that ground, either by bringing the whole of the Catholic question under Parliamentary discussion, or by moving for the repeal of any of the remaining penal laws against the Catholics, the opinion of the King's Government has been so distinctly conveyed to your Excellency by my despatch of the 10th, which I know how to enforce further.

Your Excellency will not omit any opportunity of opposing such attempt, and I hope that it will be found impossible to satisfy every reasonable Roman Catholic or every man of property of that persuasion, that

attempt could not be made in the present circumstances without the most imminent danger to their properties and persons: that, in the actual state of the country, the acquisition of the privileges withheld from them could not be considered secure and permanent, and that a Union is as indispensably necessary for the purpose of affording them a probability of being admitted to a full participation of rights in common with Protestants, as it is to quiet apprehensions which are at present entertained of them on account of the superiority of their numbers, and render them no longer objects of terror or jealousy.

In answer to the inquiry Mr. Elliot is directed to respecting the removal from office of persons who have taken a part against the measure of Union, I must beg leave to refer your Excellency to the despatch I wrote to you upon that subject, to which I will only add, by way of observation, that the strength of your Administration is the first object to be attended to, and again to endeavour to impress upon you that your Excellency cannot be so good and so guide as your judgment.

The expectation which your Excellency expresses of the endeavours of the present Opposition to embarrass your Administration, by bringing forward motions respecting the connexion of the two countries and the state of the Dissenting Clergy, as well of the Protestant as of the Catholic persuasion, require that I should acquaint you that, with respect to a Regency Bill, it will pass with no objection from hence, provided it be formed upon the principles of the Annexation Act, I acknowledge, as with respect to the Crown, the same person for Regent of Ireland as shall be appointed Regent of this kingdom, and subject to the provisions and conditions with the Parliament of Great Britain fit to qualify the appointment.

As for Channel trade, any rate of contribution to the general expenses of the Empire, may be observed

[REDACTED] these [REDACTED] matters which neither one nor [REDACTED] other Parliament alone competent to settle; [REDACTED] they are proper subjects for discussion, and [REDACTED] be adjusted only by agreement between the two Parliaments. With respect to the first of [REDACTED] subjects, [REDACTED] be obvious that it so materially depends upon the party who possesses the entire power of protecting [REDACTED] and the principal [REDACTED] of carrying it on, that any [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] being regulated by the Parliament of Ireland, [REDACTED] even of that Legislature taking the lead on such a subject, [REDACTED] hardly be seriously entertained: and, [REDACTED] for the latter, it would be so direct a resignation [REDACTED] the part of the Irish Parliament of their power of controlling their own expenditure, that I cannot [REDACTED] ceive that your Excellency [REDACTED] be under any great difficulty in silencing any attempt to bring either of these questions forward. Should, however, the Opposition propose to Parliament to raise [REDACTED] towards defraying the general expenses of the Empire, and to offer it [REDACTED] a pure free gift unconditionally, and without any stipulation with regard to the application of it, your Excellency may safely venture to assure them that it will be readily and thankfully accepted; but, at this moment, I cannot look with much confidence to any such effusion of gratitude [REDACTED] liberality from the Irish House of Commons.

The provisions which may be proposed for the Dissenting Clergy, [REDACTED] well of the Protestant [REDACTED] of the Roman Catholic persuasion, do not appear to me to require much more address, [REDACTED] to expose you to [REDACTED] difficulty [REDACTED] embarrassment in the treatment of them. We [REDACTED] of opinion that such a proposition, without advert[ing] to the quarter from whence it may originate, [REDACTED] intimating a suspicion of the motives which may have suggested it, should [REDACTED] with a favourable reception, and a general good disposition should be [REDACTED] to entertain and [REDACTED] it; but, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] time, the promoters of it [REDACTED] be [REDACTED] upon to bring forward a specific plan of the measure in detail, [REDACTED] which I [REDACTED] [REDACTED] much [REDACTED] [REDACTED] they are [REDACTED] so little prepared that the business will be at a stand, and consequently

expose **their** views, which I incline to think cannot but alienate both descriptions of Separatists from them, and convince those **people** that it is **Government** only **they** can resort for indulgence as well as for protection.

A directly contrary conduct is that **thought** necessary **your** Excellency to hold with respect **the** question of Tithes. **your** apprehensions **realized** by **being** attempted **be** made a subject of Parliamentary discussion, your Excellency **resist** the introduction of **with** firmness and decision, and you **let** it be understood that it **entertained**, unless **plan** respecting them should **far** receive the sanction of the Legislature of **country** **be** thought deserving of its serious consideration.

I have now, I believe, gone through all the topics which are either stated in your Excellency's letter of the 28th ult., or in **Memorandum** committed to Mr. Elliot's **I** cannot, however, close this despatch without representing to your Excellency the clear and unanimous opinion of **Majesty's** servants that the only effectual means to which you can resort **relieve** you from the embarrassments which you apprehend will be the prorogation of Parliament. It appears to us **only** measure which **give** time for the ferment which **been** raised **subside**, and for the public mind to **degree** of temper necessary **understand** the advantages of a Union. The first **principal** object, therefore, of your attention and study should **to** arrange the business of the Session in such a manner as can best tend to that event. I am sensible that the change which you have been under the necessity of making in **the** important official departments of your Administration **unavoidably** retard its attainment; but **I** have **opinion** of the activity and diligence of your present Chancellor of **Exchequer**, **I** am persuaded the experience of **predecessor** will be fully compensated by those qualities, and that the Session will probably not be protracted upon that **beyond** the usual **of** its duration; **of**

what I have been given to understand of the nature of Parliamentary business in Ireland, there are very few cases in which private concerns can stand in need of or become the subject of Parliamentary interposition, I should hope that the principal business of your [redacted] may [redacted] concluded before Easter, [redacted] that, in [redacted] meeting after [redacted] [redacted] there will be little more to be done than to receive and pass the [redacted] which have been transmitted hither, and which [redacted] be returned [redacted] you with [redacted] possible despatch. Besides the influence which you [redacted] have with those friends who have uniformly supported your Government, I [redacted] persuaded that, by the [redacted] you will employ with those who abandoned you upon the Union question, and whose desertion [redacted] be imputed only [redacted] the prejudices and passions of the moment, [redacted] to ignorance or misapprehension of the terms on which it [redacted] to be proposed to them, you will be able to reunite them in such a manner as at least to defeat any of the attempts which have been supposed, [redacted] any other which may be made [redacted] protract the duration of this Session; and by this counteracting and disappointing the hopes of the gentlemen of the Opposition, the Nation will be enabled to appreciate their real strength and the real object of their designs—two points, which, if brought distinctly and obviously under [redacted] public eye, [redacted] [redacted] to contribute to the tranquillity of your Government, and to facilitate ultimately the [redacted] of the Union.

I have the honour, &c.,

PORTLAND.

February 4, 10 [redacted] part 4, [redacted]

PS. As Mr. Elliot [redacted] of opinion that your Excellency will [redacted] anxious to be possessed of the sentiments of the King's confidential [redacted] upon [redacted] subjects of [redacted] despatch, I have determined [redacted] send it [redacted] you by [redacted] messenger, instead of waiting [redacted] convey [redacted] by that gentleman: but Lord Castlereagh's [redacted] of [redacted] [redacted] of January to Mr. Elliot, which he [redacted] only received [redacted] afternoon, contains matter of so much importance, that I have prevailed upon Mr. Elliot to defer his departure [redacted] [redacted]

consideration of the Cabinet, which be to-morrow morning; and, in time, I desire your Excellency will not consider any part of the instructions in despatch conclusive which relate to the repeal of the restrictions to which the Catholics are present liable, upon them in any matter whatever, until you hear again from me upon subject. P.

Lord Castlereagh to the Right Hon. Sylvester Douglas.

Dublin Castle, February 4, 1799.

My dear Sir—I you many acknowledgments for your kind attention to my wishes in allowing to benefit by your very able and accurate materials the question of Union. I wish the temper of Parliament had given a fairer opportunity of availing myself of the many valuable suggestions they contain, as well for the conducting of the treaty as the discussion of the subject.

We have failed for the present, and yet I persuaded, setting aside the question of private interest, which is strong against us, a material progress has been made in establishing measure. Considering the many classes of selfish politicians that were against us, our strength, notwithstanding the degree which was betrayed by some avowed friends and abandoned by others, was considerable, and our party sensibly brought up in tone on the second day. Though lost the question by a votes, I persuaded firmness will carry the and that within a reasonable time. The opposition is more of a private than a public nature, though the local clamour of gives it a popular aspect.

I keep your manuscript with great care till you send your directions.

With great regard, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

I shall send you from time to time any publications on subject worth reading; the enclosed sensible, by a Mr. John-

son, brother to the counsel to the Revenue Board. You shall have Mr. [redacted] speech as soon as it is printed; you will be pleased with his arguments.

Mr. W. [redacted] to Lord Castlereagh.

Burlington House, Monday, February 4, 1799. ■ P.M.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—Owing to the desperate [redacted] of the roads, your letter of the 29th ult. did not reach me till to-day. [redacted] contents [redacted] of [redacted] important and interesting [redacted] nature, [redacted] the Duke of Portland has [redacted] a messenger to Mr. Pitt, who went [redacted] Holwood this morning, [redacted] beg he will return to town, and a Cabinet [redacted] summoned for to-morrow. As the Duke, under these circumstances, has pressed me to stay another night, I have begged him to send by a messenger the despatch which I [redacted] to have conveyed, and which contains the sentiments of the English Government relative to the most material of the points on which you wished for instructions.

I cannot describe to you the pleasure I feel [redacted] finding that all your exertions have been justly appreciated here, and that you stand [redacted] high [redacted] possible in the esteem and confidence both of the Ministers and of the public.

I had a [redacted] journey hither, and fear I shall not have a better on [redacted] return. The Holyhead mail-coach, which ought to have arrived [redacted] Saturday, [redacted] not yet [redacted] The Mail [redacted] brought by the guard on horseback. There has not been [redacted] heavy a fall of snow for several years past.

Believe [redacted] ever, &c.,

WILLIAM ELLIOT.

Mr. [redacted] to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, February 5, 1799.

My Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to trans-
[redacted] [redacted] your Lordship a copy of a letter from the Prince of
[redacted] to Mr. Secretary Dundas, together with a paper en-

closed in it relative to the movements of the enemy at Brest, and ■■■■■ of a letter ■■■■■ France, dated the 28th ult., containing information on the same subject, and ■ am to desire ■■■■■ your Lordship ■■■■■ lay ■■■■■ the Lord-Lieutenant for his Excellency's information.

I ■■■■■ with the greatest respect, &c.,

WILLIAM WHIGHAM.

Jersey, January 31, ■■■■■

Sir—I have ■■■■■ honour enclosed to transmit to your Excellency ■■■■■ information that reached ■■■■■ morning from my correspondent ■■■■■ Brest; the late very bad weather ■■■■■ prevented my receiving it in more detached parts, as the ■■■■■ ■■■■■ been inaccessible ■■■■■ my messenger for upwards of a fortnight: ■■■■■ resident ■■■■■ the place was, however, instructed ■■■■■ *despatch me an express*, if anything had been pressing at that port. There are but few troops yet arrived in Brittany, but dispositions ■■■■■ certainly making for the reception of a considerable body; and if the Minister of the Marine, Bruix, ■■■■■ really, as it is suggested upon pretty good foundation, at Brest, ■■■■■ lead the expedition, your Excellency will, perhaps, recollect ■■■■■ what Hoche said of him in ■■■■■ public despatches, ■■■■■ the failure of his Bantry Bay expedition: "*A la mollesse du faux patriote (Villaret) on peut attribuer la ■■■■■ de l'expédition: plutôt à Dieu qu'elle eut été confiée au brave et intelligent Bruix! ■■■■■ seul en ■■■■■ l'entier succès.*"

It was Bruix who brought them back in the frigate *La Cocarde*: he is acquainted in detail with the coast of Ireland. The same Bruix, by his observations, may, in ■■■■■ light way ■■■■■ his countrymen, have flattered himself to be able to second ■■■■■ insidious projects against ■■■■■ kingdom. I ■■■■■ have ■■■■■ sedulously watched with all the care and attention in my power, and report very exactly to your Excellency all of his ■■■■■ ■■■■■ be observed.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

D'AUVREQUE, Prince of Bouillon.

Substance of communications of the movements at Brest, from the [redacted] of December, 1798, to the 25th of January, 1799, inclusive, [redacted] [redacted] Jersey, 31st of January, 1799.

Brest, December 30, 1798. Thirty vessels of [redacted] sizes arrived in the road, with ship timber and hemp from Bordeaux and Rochfort, [redacted] by three corvettes and two cutters, viz., corvettes of 18 to 20 guns each, *La Colombe*, *L'Etonnante*, *La Société Populaire*; cutters of 12 and 14 guns, *Le Hargnense*, *Le [redacted]*.

About sixty sail of this convoy were forced by the bad weather [redacted] stop [redacted] Audierne 4th January, '99. The frigates *Cornélie*, *Vengeance*, *Romain*, *Précieuse*, *Fraternité*, continue ready for [redacted] and under orders. The three corvettes above have been ordered to proceed to Nantes, the Charente, [redacted] Garonne. The *Précieuse* [redacted] alone in the evening.

[redacted] January, '99. The *Précieuse* frigate returned into the [redacted] without having seen an enemy, with that part of the convoy (of the corvettes) [redacted] [redacted] stopped at Audierne. It is chiefly loaded with wines and brandy.

The three corvettes sailed [redacted] the southward with about sixty [redacted] of small vessels for the different ports in their way along the [redacted]. The ships in the [redacted] are the same as reported [redacted] 10th of last month: they receive men daily that are conducted from the interior under escort. Orders for armament have been received, and every preparation is making to fit, [redacted] possible, [redacted] line-of-battle ships for [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] convoys this winter have brought a few stores, but they are still very scanty and short. It is whispered to-day at headquarters, that the frigates *La Cornélie* and *La Fraternité*, whose fore-topmasts are loose, are still intended to carry an *Ordonnateur* to the Isle of France; but this is thought a feint. Accounts [redacted] also mentioned of a new frigate and corvette coming from Nantes, having been driven and stranded on the coast by an English squadron.

January, the greatest exertions to arm in the Road and the Port were begun the 19th day-light in morning. The line-of-battle ship Jean will to to-morrow, preparatory to going into the Road, and the two three-deck ships, Le Terrible l'Invincible, will be ready to be warped to Boom a days, and will followed by the Tourville, the Jemappe, the Tirannicide, the Pluton, and the Censeur. The Mutins has been disarmed, and furnished her materials to the preceding. The Entrepenant and the Convention ordered to decked, as the Patriote out; two last ordered for armament.

January, '99. The artificers have resumed their work upon the Indivisible, a ship of larger dimensions than hitherto constructed in France. She is the plan of Lané, and destined to carry 130 guns, and to be ready for launching the next equinoctial spring-tide, as a frigate that is constructing the slip of Le Montagne.

24th January, '99. All the ships in the Road have now about two-thirds of their crews on board: they overhauling fitting their rigging, and a division of transports are ordered to get ready with despatch—reportsays, for India—but it is presumed it is for some project home, as Admiral Bruix, the present Marine Minister, is designed to the expedition.

Admiral Le Large, who commanded the fleet, accused of having sold betrayed the division to Ireland, and captured by John Warren: in consequence of this treacherous conduct destitute, and Citizen Renaudin appointed the command of the fleet in his place, and has hoisted his flag board L'Océan.

1800 seamen their way to Brest by land from Havre, proceeding from the crews of four frigates and four corvettes, which the vigilance of the English squadron has so long blockaded, proved the difficulty of getting thence,

that ■ has been judged expedient for ■ service to disarm them ■ employ their crews ■ the ■ The ships in ■ harbour have near half their crews on board, and most of them have one set of ■ cables, but no spare ones. Rope from all the seaports has been collected and conveyed by land ■ forward ■ armament, which, however, it ■ expected ■ completely ready before the latter ■ of March. Ammunition ■ different stores arrive daily ■ Brest, but no troops are yet come, except three companies of Artillery, who arrived yesterday, and escorted hither money to ■ of ■ ships in the Road.

D'AUVERGNE, Prince of Bouillon.

Substance of the information received the 14th of February of the movements at Brest from the 1st ■ the 10th February, inclusive.

Brest, 1st February, 1799. Orders have been given to equip ■ strong protection for the convoys along the ■ that have hitherto been almost always interrupted.

2nd February. Orders are received to send a division to Rochefort, where it is to be joined by the ships and frigates from L'Orient; number, or names, of these last not known.

3rd February. The division ordered for Rochefort received ■ orders ■ morning, and was put under the immediate command of Citizen Redon. It is composed of the following ships:—Le Montblanc, Le Wattigny, Le Zélé, of 74 guns each; La Cornélie, La Fraternité, La Vengeance, La Précieuse, frigates of ■ guns each; La Tactique, corvette. Their ■ have been completed, and they have only the number of troops usually embarked for the garrison duty of the ships; each of the line-of-battle ships has 700 *matelots* ■ board, and they are completed to *four months* sea provisions. It is reported that they are destined to clear the coasts of Gascony from English cruisers, and then essay to reach a port ■ Spain.!

4th February. The convoy that sailed in January for Bordeaux, escorted by the *Etonnante* and another corvette, are reported to have been taken, together with their escort, by an English *Dieu*.

6th February. The only changes in Road, since the last report of the 24th ult., are the junction of the *Jean Bart* *Tirannicide*. following are completely (though of cables) in harbour, and ready out the favourable weather:—*Le Fougueur*, *Le Tourville*, *Le Jemappe*, *Le Censeur*, *L'Invincible*, *Le Terrible*, *Le Patriote*.

continue working upon *Indivisible* the frigate: they always destined to be launched in March. Signal made on the *Montblanc* for Citizen Redon's division to weigh; they, however, staid fast, the apparently intended to cover the into the Road of a convoy of 17 sail arrived from l'Orient, escorted by a fine frigate (*Le Créole*) and two corvettes. The convoy loaded with timber, wines, and brandies.

7th February. The *Cisalpin* and *Berwick* have received orders prepare to reinforce division of Citizen Redon. Citizen Redon's division, consisting *only of the original* line-of-battle ships and four frigates, with the *Berceau* corvette, in lieu of *Tactique* and the *Vautour* cutter, riding single anchor. made several efforts sail, but always been prevented by the bad weather; but it will certainly prove favourable moment. Other ships getting ready daily, and extraordinary exertions making to equip them with *as little éclat as possible*; as is apprehended they are be stolen out successively as they are armed, to rally at some other port, of which the egress may be more easy. The privateers, which allowed invalids only and novices, swarm from all the ports in Brittany, and very prizes daily, and indifferently nations.

State the Road of Brest the 10th instant. Seventeen line-of-battle ships, six large frigates, and six corvettes, with twenty-seven transports and flutes.

D'AUVERGNE, Prince of Bonillon.

Extract of a Letter from France.

I am well de l'impatience le retour de notre ami, pour faire en sorte de le faire repartir sur-le-champ, afin de vous instruire des avis importants dont j'attendois des renseignements, ainsi que je vous l'avois annoncé dans ma dernière lettre.

Tous les petits bâtimens de guerre qu'on a rassemblé à Dunkerque n'étoient que pour les retirer des autres ports, d'où on fait enlever tous les vaisseaux et conduire à Brest, escortés par la force armée. On fait également enlever à tous les ports les agrès et autres ustensiles nécessaires à l'armement, qu'on fait transporter aussi à Brest. On a également enlevé tous les agrès des quatre frégates qui sont à Dunkerque, pour leur faire suivre la même destination, et tous le transport par terre, de manière qu'aujourd'hui tout paroît se diriger vers ce port, où il y a environ dix gros vaisseaux armés ou prêts à l'être, ainsi que plusieurs frégates; et tout conspire à faire croire qu'il y a avoir une expédition pour l'Irlande. Un émissaire que j'avois envoyé dans ce port m'a dit qu'il y croyoit positivement, mais qu'après qu'il avoit pu découvrir, il croyoit que l'expédition ne s'exécuteroit qu'avec quelques frégates et quelques vaisseaux et quelques petits bâtimens. Je n'ai pu rien découvrir de l'époque. Il suffira sans doute de connaître les vaisseaux qui succèdent infiniment rapidement.

with great impatience the return of our friend, in order to contrive matters so as to send him off again immediately, for the purpose of acquainting you with the important intelligence, the particulars of which I was expecting, as I mentioned to you in my last letter.

All the small ships of war which have been assembled at Dunkirk were ordered thither merely to withdraw them from the other ports, where directions have been given to take all seamen and to send them off to Brest, escorted by the armed force. Orders have likewise been issued for taking away from all the ports all rigging and other materials necessary for equipment, which are also conveyed to Brest. The four frigates lying at Dunkirk have, in like manner, been stripped of all their rigging, which is to follow to the same destination, and all by land carriage; so that at this moment everything appears to be moving towards that port, where there are about ten large ships armed, or nearly so, as well as several frigates; and all circumstances concur to induce a belief that a new expedition will soon be despatched thence for Ireland. An emissary whom I sent to this port has told me that he positively believed this; but that, from what he could discover, he believed that the expedition would consist of frigates only with a few ships and other small vessels. I could not learn anything certain as to the same. It will suffice to be acquainted with these facts, which follow each other with extreme rapidity.

The Rev. Dr. Lennan to the Rev. Dr. Troy.

Newry, February 7, 1798.

My dear Lord—I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship that your friend Mr. Corry was this day re-elected for the town of Newry. Mr. Ball, with his partisans, after canvassing the town for eight days, declined the poll, and surrendered yesterday. The Catholics stuck together like the Macedonian phalanx, and with ease were able to turn the scale in favour of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. They were very sensible of the efficacy of your interference, and their steadiness.

I am with the greatest esteem and the most sincere affection,

MATT. LENNAN.

No person but Mr. Corry knows that you wrote to me. Have you any ecclesiastical news, &c.?

The Right Hon. Thomas Conolly¹ to Lord Castlereagh.

Castletown, Friday, February 11 1799.

My dear Lord—I should be sorry you should [redacted] of a morning's visit here in [redacted] weather, [redacted] you [redacted] anything [redacted] mind. I [redacted] much better, nay, almost well, by staying at home [redacted] the fire; but it will not be in my power [redacted] attend the House on Monday, and I must, therefore, [redacted] the defaulters, [redacted] the House is [redacted] [redacted]. My physician, Dr. Lindsay, in Dublin, is willing [redacted] make oath [redacted] I [redacted] attend Parliament [redacted] this [redacted] of the year without evident [redacted] of my life. This [redacted] I would [redacted] cheerfully run [redacted] carry the proposed union with Great Britain. In the mean time, among ourselves here, this [redacted] coalition between the United and Orangemen in Parliament will keep [redacted] in hot water for a long time, as they will not let their differences sleep—the first from disappointment, the latter from their love of power and plunder, from both of which they [redacted] afraid of being kept out by Lord Cornwallis's conduct. [redacted] sides, therefore, wish him and his friends [redacted] the devil.

I [redacted] your affectionate friend and uncle,

THOMAS CONOLLY.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

[redacted] Castle, February 11 1799.

My Lord—The kind and infinitely too flattering terms in which your Grace conveys your own sentiments and those of his Majesty's other confidential servants, approving of my conduct [redacted] a late occasion, [redacted] best, indeed the only [redacted] solation [redacted] I can receive for a disappointment, which, [redacted] public as [redacted] [redacted] private grounds, I sincerely deplore. Your Grace may

¹ Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant [redacted] the Londonderry [redacted] [redacted] married Lady Louisa Augusta Lennox, daughter of Charles, third Duke of Richmond, at whose decease his estates descended to his grand-nephew, E. M. Packenham, Esq., who assumed the name and arms of Conolly only.

rest assured that so long as I remain entrusted with the situation I now fill, my undivided attention shall be directed to prepare the public mind for the more favourable reception of this measure, as well as to strengthen its support within the House of Commons.

I cannot yet learn that the Opposition have determined on their line of conduct. Their object seems, in the first instance, to consolidate their party. Two motions were made this day by Mr. O'Donnell and Mr. Edgeworth, neither men of any consideration, evidently with this view.

The first was a complaint in respect to paragraphs in the Sun; the second a vote of thanks to the Speaker. The publication in the Sun could not be justified, nor could the vote to the Chair be resisted, upon any other grounds (whatever partiality had been observable in the Speaker's conduct) than the occasion not calling for such proceeding. As I conceived the real object of the motions was to induce the country gentlemen again to divide with them, and as the question, from the part they took in the opening of the Session, if resisted, would naturally have commanded their support, I thought it more advantageous to let them pass almost as of course, which I believe disappointed them. Mr. Pitt's speech was alluded to but so loosely and by an individual of so little might, as to call for no attention. I was the less inclined to notice the observation, as I understand it is the Speaker's intention to take an early opportunity of observing upon it. The same that admirable performance we have seen fail to be conducted even in our intemperate country. We are employed in giving the measure the possible circulation.

The North continues, notwithstanding the Speaker's efforts, perfectly temperate on the subject. In Monaghan a protest has been signed by the majority of the resident gentry dissenting from the County Resolutions. In Tyrone I understand there is a protest; favourable dispositions have been shown in other places.

I have not heard farther of the proceedings of the [redacted] since I wrote to Mr. Elliot on the subject. Whatever degree of latitude may be given to the Lord-Lieutenant in respect to connecting any of their objects with the Union, it appears to me, great caution should be used in holding [redacted] expectation. Were it done with any appearance of eagerness on the part of Government, [redacted] would argue weakness, [redacted] too much the appearance of a bargain to serve the cause. I [redacted] believe the true policy is, by a steady resistance of their claims, so long as the countries remain separate, to make them feel that they can be carried only with us through a Union. The Speaker's temper will probably lead him to play a high Pro-[redacted] game, which will operate favourably both with the Presbyterians and Catholics.

Your Grace must be prepared for more difficulties, at least for [redacted] time, growing out of a rupture with the Speaker. [redacted] influence in the Commons is great; [redacted] and talents will direct the [redacted] and supply the materials for opposition; the party, supported by Parnell, will be strong in debate. What [redacted] they may have in steadily attaching to them the country gentlemen it is difficult to foresee. So long as the measure of Union threatens private interests in the degree it is [redacted] to do, and it is understood [redacted] be still hanging over them, [redacted] must be prepared to find them connected in a considerable degree by this apprehension. We are [redacted] altogether without some doubts of other of our friends. I trust, however, matters will end well.

Allow me again to thank your Grace [redacted] sincerely for the favour you have shown.

The Rev. Dr. Troy to Sir J. C. Hippisley, Bart.

Dublin, February 9, [redacted]

Dear Sir—I cannot sufficiently acknowledge your polite and friendly attention to [redacted] and to [redacted] interests of [redacted] Catholics,

of which your obliging favours of the 8th ultimo and [REDACTED] instant are [REDACTED] proofs. [REDACTED] of my brethren lately assembled here are gone home. As the measure of providing for our Clergy seems connected with the question of Union, which has been prematurely opposed in [REDACTED] Commons' House, the former [REDACTED] be postponed [REDACTED] the other be coolly [REDACTED] in Parliament. Previous [REDACTED] the separation of my brethren, [REDACTED] preliminary points were agreed upon and submitted by [REDACTED] Lord Castlereagh, who expressed his approbation of them, [REDACTED] probably [REDACTED] them to the [REDACTED] of Portland. They [REDACTED] [REDACTED] public until the business be concluded. Meantime Dr. O'Reilly, of Armagh, [REDACTED] Plunkett, of Meath, in [REDACTED] junction with me, [REDACTED] authorized by [REDACTED] brethren to treat with Lord Castlereagh [REDACTED] the subject, when he may think [REDACTED] expedient to [REDACTED] it.

The very able speech of Mr. Pitt cannot fail to [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] of Union with Great [REDACTED] to consider the question dispassionately, and determine many of them [REDACTED] its favour. The Catholics have prudently resolved to abstain from any resolution or declaration thereon, although many of them, especially in this city, are unfriendly to it. I did not attend at any of their late meetings, to consider of an address to the Lord-Lieutenant expressive of loyalty and their expectations of what is called *emancipation*. I think and have declared my opinion [REDACTED] such a step, in the present circumstances, would only embarrass Government, and rather indispose it against the Catholics. There are very many of this opinion. Whatever [REDACTED] result of their next meeting [REDACTED] this point, I have good reason [REDACTED] expect they will not [REDACTED] on the Opposition [REDACTED] of Parliament [REDACTED] for emancipation, and hope I shall [REDACTED] be disappointed.

I beg, when you see Lord Hobart,¹ to present my compli-

¹ Robert, eldest son of George, third Earl of Buckinghamshire. [REDACTED] was summoned to Parliament in 1796, [REDACTED] lifetime of his father, as Lord Hobart. Lady Castlereagh, it will be recollected, was his sister.

ments to his Lordship, and have I honour remain with perfect esteem,

Yours, &c.,

J. T. TROY.

PS.—I have just received Counsellor Smith's Union, which I the liberty of sending you. Mr. Coghlan will receive another copy by this packet. I have not yet it, but much praised. Dr. Moylan, now here, compliments to you. Dr. Egan departed life June. The allusion in Mr. Pitt's speech the Catholics of kingdom does not please many. They that they expected would be silent about them, give them better hopes. They inclined prefer their address to his Majesty or to the Lord-Lieutenant, but do not intend, I believe, to interfere with the question of Union.

The Earl of Longford¹ to Lord Castlereagh.

Febrary 12,

My dear Lord—I return the Protest which I had the honour of receiving yesterday, to which I have not put my name, because I am convinced that publishing this time a Protest which had been entered into so long ago, which of course was supposed to have been dropped, would have strongly appearance of intending push against which public mind has for the present shown itself violently prejudiced, which certainly, however unfounded apprehension may be, will much increase the agitation now so unfortunately prevalent subject of Union. I have no difficulty in declaring my opinion coincides with the sentiments expressed in Protest; but, at present, I think the first object is tranquillize, by allowing to subside; I am persuaded publishing the Protest would have con-

¹ Thomas Pakenham, second Baron Longford, who succeeded to the Earldom on the death of his grandmother, in 1794.

trary effect, perhaps be the means of occasioning another County meeting, ■■■■ might have ■■■■ consequences.

I have the honour, &c., ■■■■

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, February 14, ■■■■

My Lord—It is with much pain I am to acquaint your Lordship that the knient ■■■■ adopted by the Legislature at the instance of his Majesty towards the close of the last session, have not been productive of those good effects in recalling the people to a sense of their allegiance which was due to, and might have been expected from, so merciful an interposition in their favour. The same spirit of disaffection continues to pervade the lower orders; and, though the rebellion is less openly persisted in, it does not fail to show itself in various outrages and depredations not ■■■■ destructive ■■■■ infinitely ■■■■ embarrassing than open insurrection. The province of Ulster is, upon the whole, more exempt from disturbance than any other portion of the kingdom; but even in this quarter the ■■■■ are not inactive; ■■■■ in the county of Antrim during ■■■■ last month, the houses of several loyal persons have been by night entered and stripped of arms. In the other provinces, the treasonable disposition exists in its full force, and a general insecurity prevails: ■■■■ mails and travellers are frequently intercepted and robbed, the roads being infested by ■■■■. The counties of Wicklow and Wexford remain disturbed. In the county of Cork the usual resistance to the payment of ■■■■ continues, accompanied by the cruel persecution of those employed in collecting them; and in the West the old system of houghing cattle has been of late revived, and carried to an extent which ■■■■ the most serious consequences not only to this kingdom but to the Empire.

The amount of ■■■■ cattle destroyed is already very great. I ■■■■ afford your Grace better information on this subject than by enclosing an extract from a letter from the Prime Serjeant

Lord Castlereagh, on this subject. pervades the Counties of Galway and Mayo, and is likely, if not speedily checked,

I have made the necessary distribution of troops, to repress as far as possible this mischief; but your Grace must feel how little is in the power of the military to prevent the commission of crimes perpetrated at night over the face of so extended a district.

In my despatch of the —, I had the honour of stating your the difficulties arisen in the summary powers, enjoined by the Proclamation of the of May, and approved by both Houses of Parliament—a difficulty which nothing but the interposition of the Legislature solve, so long as the King's Courts open.

Under the peculiar pressure of the present moment, I have, by the advice of the King's law servants, directed a bill to be brought into Parliament on this subject without loss of time, a copy of which I have the honour to transmit with this despatch. I could have wished that the draft of a bill of so much delicacy and importance had been revised in England before it was introduced here; but, having understood from your that the principle of the Bill approved by Ministers, I have thought it inexpedient to delay a so indispensable to the public safety, the rather as we shall be enabled to avail ourselves of any suggestions with which your Grace may favour me in future stages of the

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, February 15, 1799.

My Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a letter received at the Admi-

I am not aware that in any other country on the face of the besides Ireland has this savage and cowardly practice been to exist.

rality, from Captain Dacres, of his Majesty's ship *Astrea*, Vice-Admiral Dickson, containing intelligence of enemy's in Texel; I am to desire that you will lay the same before Lord-Lieutenant for his Excellency's information.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Astrea, off Cowperdown, February 6, 1799.

Sir—From the large quantity of drift ice we meet with, I think it unsafe for the *Diligent* cutter to stand out; have therefore ordered her in. I yesterday had a very good sight of the Dutch fleet, and am convinced, from their riding with a-beam and strong ebb-tide, that they were froze in—indeed the frost is severe, there be no doubt of it—shall endeavour to keep to windward; but, if I find am not able, shall bear up either for Yarmouth or the Humber. I hope you have account of the *Timphone*.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

B. DACRES.

PS. The Dutch fleet are large ships—yards and top down.

To Vice-Admiral Dickson.

The Rev. John Blackwood to Lord Castlereagh.

Bleddy, February 16, 1799.

My Lord—Knowing well your great perseverance in public business, I trespass again upon your moments, much grossed in guidance of the State. Seeing, by the votes, that a bill is to be brought into Parliament to amend the Insurrection Act, especially as regards damages lawless insurgents or robbers in numbers, I think necessary to state to your Lordship, that, in the plunder partial of my glebe house Rathcoormick, the principal object of the banditti was to destroy my tithe-notes and processes founded on them, which I had been obliged to serve at three successive

sessions, [REDACTED] of my proctor being induced, by threats or bribery, [REDACTED] my [REDACTED] That [REDACTED] their object, appears from their having forced every place in my [REDACTED] where they suspected [REDACTED] papers were, and, when found, they burned all my papers, tithe-notes, books, and sermons, [REDACTED] my hall-door. It [REDACTED] to be observed, [REDACTED] the cause of murdering [REDACTED] soldier in my house was, [REDACTED] they did [REDACTED] find the processes served by the man murdered, lest he should prove [REDACTED] service, and I find, notwithstanding [REDACTED] destruction of my [REDACTED] books, [REDACTED] other method of ascertaining [REDACTED] original debts, which would affirm the processes.

I further observe that no person but myself [REDACTED] prove [REDACTED] loss [REDACTED] all. I request [REDACTED] answer to this letter. Your Lordship will give the observations [REDACTED] attention they merit.

I am your most obedient servant,

JOHN BLACKWOOD.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, February 17, 1799.

My dear Lord—Immediately on the receipt of your Lordship's private letter of the 11th instant, on the subject of Dr. Elrington's¹ dispensation, I spoke to the Duke of Portland, who seemed much surprised that he should have been so much misunderstood by the Lord Chancellor. It is the Duke's decided opinion that dispensations of this kind ought [REDACTED] be granted in any case; and his Grace says, that he was personally [REDACTED] expressed himself to that effect to the Lord Chancellor, when [REDACTED] the honour of seeing [REDACTED] Lordship in London; adding that, if it were found necessary or expedient, by his Majesty's Government in Ireland, to give to the Senior Fellows of Trinity College the power of marrying, whilst they [REDACTED] fellowships, it should be done generally to [REDACTED] body, [REDACTED] by way of dispensation [REDACTED] individuals.

¹ Thomas Elrington, D.D., M.R.I.A., Senior Fellow and Professor of [REDACTED] Trinity College, Dublin.

I did not show your Lordship's letter to the Duke, as his opinion upon the points, viz., the question itself, and on recollection of his conversation with the Chancellor, so very decided; and I shall wait to hear again from your Lordship before I take any further steps in the business, submitting to your Lordship (as an opinion only that at the moment) the propriety of the Lord-Lieutenant sending an despatch on the subject, to be regularly before the Duke.

I am confident there is no person to whom the Duke of Portland would be so sorry to have given pain to, or to have shown the slightest mark of inattention, than the Lord Chancellor; and, as it is evident that the conversation at Burlington House has been misunderstood by one or both of the parties, I had rather not mention the subject again to the Duke of Portland till your Lordship shall have been made acquainted with that fact, and I shall have had the advantage of receiving your opinion, formed in circumstances with which you could not have been acquainted when your last letter was written. I will only now observe, that there be no mistake about the official communication which your Lordship supposes to have been lately made. Nothing of the kind, indeed nothing at all upon the subject, has reached the Duke of Portland's office since I have been in it, and I never hear it named. I received your Lordship's letter.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, February 11, 1798.

My Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Hamilton to send your Lordship copies of letters from the Duke of Hamilton, Captain of his Majesty's ship *Melpomene*, from Captain Gore, of his Majesty's ship *Triton*, containing intelli-

gence of the enemy's force in the port of Brest; also the substance of some further information on the same subject; and I am to desire that your Lordship will lay the same before his Excellency Lord-Lieutenant.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

To Mr. Napier.

Melbourne, 11 Dec, February 14, 1799.

Sir—I inform you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the weather prevented me from effectually reconnoitring Brest, the 18th instant, when, having brought the Point of to bear South by East, per compass, distance two miles and a half, I discovered, viz., two three-deck ships, one with a flag the mizen, the other a broad pendant; twelve two-deck ships, four five frigates, and other small vessels. I therefore conclude that no man-of-war sailed during the easterly winds, a statement agrees very nearly with the information given by Sir Edward Pellew. They all their lower yards topmasts struck, and several had their topsail yards and aft in the top.

I am, &c.,

CHARLES HAMILTON.

To Mr. Napier.

Triton, 11 Dec, February 12, 1799.

Sir—On Tuesday, February 5, 1799, bearing about four leagues, the Triton in with a brig, which sailed from Brest morning, bound to Malaga, in ballast. On strict examination of the Master, I learnt the enemy had fourteen sail of the line, three of them three decks, and frigates lying in water, apparently in good condition, very short of men; that in the Arsenal they had twenty sail of ships of all descriptions, all of which were undergoing repairs, and a great number of artificers were

played about them. He informed the general subject of conversation was an intended invasion of large force.

JOHN GORE.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Private.

Castle, February 1799.

My Lord—I have the honour herewith to enclose to your Grace a copy of a Bill which yesterday presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Fitzgerald, the late Prime Sergeant, “to provide for the Administration of the Government of Ireland, whensoever and as often as it shall be administered by a Regent or Regency.”

When notice was given of this measure, Lord Castlereagh, in pursuance of my directions, of the authority which I had received from your Grace, stated that he should readily assent in the Bill, provided that it was brought forward in the full spirit of the Act of Annexation of the 33rd year of Henry VIII., and that its provisions reached all the cases of emergency which might arise.

In the draft enclosed, the principle of the dependency of the Government of this realm upon the Crown of England is fully expressed, though perhaps not so satisfactorily as if the words of the statute of Henry VIII. had been exactly followed; but a difficulty arises with respect to the proviso which subjects the Regent for Ireland to exercise the regal rights under the same restrictions and limitations as the Regent of Great Britain shall be subject to.

The Bill also does not ascertain the power by which a Regent or Regency of England may rightfully be made. The words in the preamble—“may happen to be vested in and committed to a Regent, or Regency, or person or persons by other title, name, or description”—seem to include the possibility of usurpation of Regency on the assumed principle of right, as well as the person who may be appointed Regent

"by two Houses of Parliament of England by Address, or by an Act of Parliament, the Royal may be given by Commission under the Great Seal or otherwise."

And, if the Bill were to use words which should ascertain power by which alone a Regency could be rightfully appointed, the Irish Parliament would in and exercise the right of deciding the constitutional authority powers of the Parliament and nation in a contested point.

On the second reading of the Bill, Lord Castlereagh will these difficulties to the House, and will to adjourn Committee the Bill for such a period as will enable me to receive your Grace's sentiments upon this important subject. Lordship will also state the possible wherein it may be expedient that the Regent of Ireland should be under different restrictions from the Regent of Great Britain. If, for instance, the appointment of a Regent in Great Britain by Parliament thereof, he should be enjoined in certain to by the advice of the Privy Council, under the Bill closed, it would be a question whether, in a similar case, would not be obliged to act in Ireland by the advice of the Privy Council of Ireland; and this regulation the circumstances of making treaties declaring war, treaty could be made, declared, without the advice of the Privy Council of Ireland. And, many possibilities of kind may be stated, Lord Castlereagh will endeavour to insinuate that the only complete measure for putting an end to difficulties which arise from the present situation of Ireland a Parliamentary Union.

At time, while I suggest these the might have prejudicial consequences, such part of the Parliament were to negatived; and I should hope that, though the measure may not complete, may received as tending prevent a separation of two kingdoms.

CORNWALLIS.

Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

Whitehall, February 18, 1801.

My dear Lord—Mr. Wogan Brown called on me to-day, bringing with him young Aylmer, who acted as distinguished a part in the Rebellion, and desiring to know whether there could be any objection to his being suffered to reside in this country.

The Duke of Portland desired me to inform your Lordship of this circumstance, and request that you would mention it to the Lord-Lieutenant, and favour me with the Excellency's opinion on this point for his Grace's information.

I am, with sincere regard, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, February 25, 1801.

My dear Lord—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's private letter of the 18th instant, which I immediately communicated to the Duke of Portland, who highly approves of the directions that his Excellency has been pleased to give to the general officers commanding in the county [province] of Connaght.

The opposition to the Attorney-General's Bill which the Duke of that province has rendered so necessary, is so vexatious and is unnatural and extraordinary, considering the quarter from which a part of it appears to come.

Of things, your Lordship is naturally very anxious to have the draft of that Bill, which his Excellency desired me to deliver to the Duke of Portland, returned to you as possible. I have spoken to the Duke upon the subject this morning, and have received his directions to refer the Bill to the Law officers to whom it is referred to give their opinion as speedily as possible.

The Solicitor-General, having submitted his opinion to the

subject ■ Mr. ■ Lord Grenville, has, I know, been desired to reconsider it in ■ or ■ material points. I sincerely hope that by to-morrow, or ■ day, all difficulties will have ■ removed.

I ■ shortly have to write to your Lordship on the subject of the United Irishmen, who threaten soon to become ■ tremely formidable ■ this metropolis. As, however, ■ well informed of all their motions, I trust that ■ real danger or mischief can be apprehended, and that the leaders may at any time ■ taken into custody, whenever they ■ be preparing to execute any of their nefarious designs.

Some passengers arrived, in a cartel from Gravelines, ■ that a ■ levy of 100,000 men ■ been decreed in France, and that ■ is upon the point of being declared against the Emperor. I believe that no other intelligence to the ■ ■ been received. Not a newspaper was suffered to pass.

You will have learnt from the public prints what serious alarm ■ entertained for ■ fate of Mr. Thomas Grenville.¹ Nothing has been received since the report of the captain of the packet-boat, which you will have ■ published.

Believe me, ever with the highest regard, &c.,

WM. WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

Whitehall, February 27, 1799.

My dear Lord—I opened, and forwarded to the Duke of Portland yesterday, your Lordship's private letter of the 22nd, enclosing a printed plan, supposed to be Mr. Tighe's, of a regulation in respect ■ Tithes, which Mr. Pitt, to whom ■ an opportunity of showing ■ before ■ the messenger ■ to Bulstrode, considered ■ quite inadequate to ■ object, supposing ■ object ■ now desirable.

¹ This gentleman, brother of Lord Grenville, who had been appointed ■ to one of ■ courts, was stopped by the ice, in his passage up the Elbe, and there frozen up for a considerable time, during which the anxiety felt ■ London for his safety was truly intense.

Attorney-General's Bill, which your Lordship inquires after, is still before the Law here, after having been by a Cabinet, at which those gentlemen were called to attend. I have written this morning to the Solicitor-General, to request that he may, if possible, be returned in the course of the day; and, as soon as it shall be received, not a moment will be lost in transmitting it to Ireland. From the opposition your Lordship seems to expect, I think that this delay will occasion some difficulty and inconvenience; but the matter is so very extraordinary and so directly connected with some of the greatest and most delicate constitutional questions, that Lord Portland, though thoroughly convinced of its necessity, does not consider himself authorized to give it his sanction, in the shape in which it has been brought forward, until it is thoroughly considered in its parts by the Law servants of the Crown here.

The opposition your Lordship gives of the present of Catholics is very satisfactory. If Government has its own difficulties to encounter, I am persuaded that Opposition, posed as it now is, will meet with many, which, though of a different kind, will not be less formidable; and in this persuasion I think that my hope of your getting well through the session is strengthened.

We are still without any accounts of Mr. Thomas Grenville. I am however much inclined to hope well for the safety of the passengers, if not of the crew, from the circumstances that have been related to me as to the situation in which Proserpine was during the time that she was in the Elbe. It will be most extraordinary if they had not, during part of that time, the means of communication from the ship to the shore.

I am not without hopes that the Secret Committee will be reported on Friday. Their report will be followed or preceded by the report of a number of United Irishmen in London.

I have forwarded your Lordship's private letter mentioned in Bulstrode, I received, opened, and forwarded two Despatches from the Lord-Lieutenant of the County instant, brought by Messenger Doyle, the one on the subject of the Regency Bill, the other on the subject of the Counties of Galway Mayo, and the new system adopted by the leaders of the United Irishmen in Dublin. The latter contains a sufficient reason to make me lament the delay that has necessarily occurred in returning the Bill of the Attorney-General's Bill.

The Regency Bill will be taken immediately into consideration, Mr. Pitt having desired the Duke of Portland to summon a Cabinet Council for that purpose on Friday, when the question of the disposal of the State prisoners will also be determined.

I have the honour, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, February 28, 1799.

My dear Lord—I take the earliest opportunity of acquainting your Lordship, by the Duke of Portland's direction, for information of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, that his Grace has been positively assured that there are in the top of Boulton Hill, in the County of Kildare, upon the estate of Aldborough's estate, chests of muskets and bayonets which belonged to Lord Aldborough's Yeomanry, who were routed and lost their arms in 1798 during the Rebellion, and that there are on Tally Hill, seven miles from Dublin, in the County of Wicklow, four large chests of pikes, &c., buried under a large bush in a bog at the bottom of the Hill in one of Oughan's meadows. I attach more importance to this information as it has been given by a person deep in the confidence of the Irish Rebels who have taken shelter in London.

Believe me ever, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Information of Joseph Holt,¹ given voluntarily, and by his own

Cork, February 27, 1848

Says, that since the arrival of the convicts from Cork, viz., Dry, Desmond, Cox, Fitzgerald, and several others, they held conversations, all of which tend positively that there are 20,000 rebels organized at Cork and its neighbourhood, and that they are determined to make a rising on the evening of Sunday next, when they expect the French. A feint is to be made at Killaala, but the principal attack is to be made about Cork. He has heard through those people, and from the conversations of several there, that the whole country is organizing with more activity than ever, especially in Munster, and is assured and believes that great numbers of the Militia soldiers are and ready to join them, and expresses strongly a desire that the Government will be very attentive to the conduct of the soldiers. He is certain they have given up meetings, but they carry on their plots by writing little notes to one another, and that they encourage the disaffected to enlist in the regiments of Militia. These are what they call the big day, (Easter Sunday) to assassinate the well disposed, and to seize their arms and ammunition. He is certain that the country will experience great disorder next summer, and recommends again and strongly the strictest watch of the Militia, who, he says, and is certain, are not to be trusted, and that the country is preparing for rebellion more strongly than ever, and in greater numbers. The Dutch, and particularly the Spaniards, are expected to come to their assistance. With great anxiety he again says that Government may exert measures in time, to prevent a rebellion, that is certainly determined on, and that of the universal nature.

¹ One of the most noted of the leaders of the insurgents in the late

mon conversations are, that there is not a Catholic who would not kill a Protestant as soon as he would a rat. He is satisfied that if there were but five Catholics, they are determined and pursue this principle intent as long as they exist. Joseph Holt adds, he is himself a Protes-

J. C. Hippisly Lord Castlereagh.

Curson Street, February 27, 1799.

My Lord—It was my intention to have my correspondence with Lord Hobart, by addressing your Lordship extracts from the *original* documents, which would have clearly substantiated anything I advanced in those letters which Lord Hobart thought of sufficient importance to be transmitted to your Lordship.¹ I had, in fact, begun upon this task early in last week, and told Mr. Dundas that I should address your Lordship as on Saturday last; but I have, since that period, been very ill; and, from some additional circumstances of family distress, I fear I shall not immediately be able to fulfil my intention. Lord Hobart told me that he mentioned to your Lordship that I had addressed the Speaker, who approved of my ideas. The fact is, that I went through the subject in repeated interviews with the Speaker, who was much struck by the information, which he communicated entirely to him, and, as he observed, would present the subject in a different light to Mr. Pitt from what he ever viewed it in. I enclose your Lordship a copy of the Speaker's notes on this subject.

With respect to Dr. Troy, having expressed myself fully in my letters to Lord Hobart on the distinction of *regulars* and *seculars*, I think it incumbent on me to say also to your Lordship that Dr. Troy may be made much good use of; though,

¹ The important papers here referred to will be found in the Supplement to this year (1799) of the CATHOLIC.

from the circumstance of his being a regular and a Dominican, in _____ cases _____ certainly be influenced by *l'esprit du corps*. Your Lordship will, I am persuaded, feel _____ necessity of keeping my communications _____ subject profoundly secret, as certainly even great public inconvenience might result from Dr. Troy's being acquainted with _____ sentiments. I _____ him, however, to be sincerely attached to the King's Government, and it is his interest so to be.

_____ Macdonnell, the chaplain of the Glengarry regiment, showed _____ this morning, a letter from the titular Bishop Delany, who mentions Dr. Troy having _____ my letters _____ the assembly of Catholic bishops before they _____ Dublin. Delany speaks highly in favour of the Union, but says the _____ committed _____ many of the Catholic clergy still obtain.

I did not mention, in my letters to Lord Hobart, the substance of a letter from Dr. V. Bodkin, dated Galway. He did not know, when he wrote that the Friar Concanen _____ made a Bishop, but he says, "Concanen and Conolly," (Dominicans) "those sublime characters, whom you discovered _____ completely, prior to your departure from Rome, both had friends amongst the new revolutionary government, and obtained their leave to remain there." He concluded, "My countrymen _____ very _____ violent, and easily roused, but they as _____ fall _____ return to a better _____ I _____ far from thinking the Union lost; a little time will rally and bring back the disheartened and disaffected. It is the only _____ left to _____ from ruin and destruction that poor, infatuated Ireland." His letter _____ from Galway, the 1st of February.

The regulars will all speak ill of Dr. Bodkin, so will they of _____ predecessor _____ Rome, Dr. Bellow, titular Bishop of Killala, _____ many years agent for the Seculars. The new titular Bishop Concanen, I have said, was Dr. Troy's agent. He, as well as Dr. Troy, opposed national superiors of _____ Irish College _____ Rome, knowing those nationals _____ be secular priests. Their _____ were ineffectual; _____ Dr. Troy, being outvoted

by his brethren in Ireland, submitted to the arrangement I obtained of the P[ope]. Concanen ■ induced the ■ students ■ apply to the ■ York; but this ■ a deli- ■ subject, and I trust it in profound confidence to your Lordship, entreating you to burn this scrawl as soon as you ■ read it.

In my hasty P.S. to my last letter to Lord Hobart, I suggested ■ idea of *separating* the requisition for ■ complete report and ■ of the Catholic ecclesiastics. ■ me that, when Government ■ have obtained that return, ■ a preliminary to ■ future arrangement of provision, ■ when the numbers and distinctions of the regulars ■ appear on the face of that return, the restrictive arrangement will naturally grow out of it; and Dr. Troy, though ■ regular, by a little address, may be brought not to oppose ■ limitation ■ perfectly consistent with the practice ■ in Catholic States. Your Lordship will excuse this, ■ fear, illegible effort, which I make with great pain, having an influenza in my head: but I thought the subject demanded this communication.

I told the Speaker I had the means of procuring the most certain communication with ■ Pope, when anything ■ ripe enough to ■ referred to that quarter, which ■ by a Catholic priest, highly respected by the Pope and his ministers, and also well known ■ the Speaker and ■ D[unda]. He ■ Italy but ■ few months since, and is ■ present in Scotland.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. C. HIPPISELY.

Lord Cornwallis to ■ Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, February ■ 1799.

My Lord—On Tuesday last, the ■ for the more speedy Suppression of Rebellion ■ read a second time. On ■ being ■ introduced, I understand an attempt was made ■ unite ■ the persons who ■ voted against ■ Union ■ opposition ■ it.

One principle privately urged was, ■ gave ■ power to the ministry to force that question, and another, that ■ degraded Parliament, and tended to prove ■ was incompetent to manage the country ; that it should, therefore, be considered as a Union question ; and that, if ■ were to be allowed to pass, ■ should be restricted in its operations, and its duration limited for a few months, or during the ■ Parlia-

■ I understand ■ the Speaker, ■ John Parnell, ■ Mr. Ponsonby, sounded gentlemen on these points : ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ many of the country gentlemen ■ it ■ duty ■ strengthen the Executive power ■ much ■ possible, ■ attempt ■ ■ them in ■ regular opposition ■ impossible. ■ Ponsonby, therefore, and ■ John Parnell, kept ■ backward line, and it ■ determined by them not to divide on the principle of the Bill, but to let it go into Committee.

This ■ of the country gentlemen to unite against this Bill proves ■ all attempts to form ■ party against Government, with ■ view to overturn ■ Administration, has entirely failed, and that, however on some particular questions ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ considerable opposition may appear, there is not any probability of its being successful in any measure which ■ necessary for carrying on the King's Government.

The Attorney-General opened the debate in a speech of considerable length, in which ■ entered into the ■ of the country ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ necessity of arming the Executive Government with a legal authority to exercise Martial Law, in order ■ prevent the clashing of jurisdiction with the Courts of Law. ■ chief opposers ■ ■ Mr. Barrington, Mr. Dobbs, Mr. Plunkett, Mr. Buxton, who ■ barristers, ■ ■ ■ L. Parsons, who, though he voted ■ the Bill going into Committee, spoke against ■ principles with great violence.

■ tendency of the Opposition went ■ modify the power and localise the operations of the Bill. Upon this, Lord Castlereagh rose to defend its principle, and to declare that, if the Bill ■ to ■ modified, ■ would relinquish it. ■ ■

Lordship stated that the sole object of the Bill was not to confer [REDACTED] new power or prerogative on the Crown, but to render [REDACTED] known powers compatible with [REDACTED] continuance [REDACTED] jurisdiction of the Courts of Law; and if [REDACTED] Law could [REDACTED] constitutionally co-exist, it would therefore [REDACTED] necessary for the Government [REDACTED] shut up the Courts of Law, and [REDACTED] prevent all [REDACTED] ordinary administration of justice, [REDACTED] Parliament [REDACTED] authorize Martial Law [REDACTED] exercised in [REDACTED] concurrence with their jurisdiction. [REDACTED] Lordship [REDACTED] stated broadly [REDACTED] principle—that, on every great emergency, [REDACTED] Executive Government [REDACTED] [REDACTED] not to wait for the previous sanction of the Legislature, but boldly to meet the emergency for the safety of the kingdom, relying upon its own responsibility, trusting to the future approbation of Parliament; but that this principle disappeared when the urgency [REDACTED] not transitory, and where the mischief [REDACTED] be obviated [REDACTED] permanent; and [REDACTED] [REDACTED] principle then arose, which [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] Parliament [REDACTED] ought to suffer for any long period [REDACTED] continued deviation from the ordinary practice of the Constitution; but that it ought entirely to check such [REDACTED] deviation, if improper, or [REDACTED] legalize it, if necessary.

Some observations having been thrown out by Dr. Duigenan and Mr. Ogle, that the system on which [REDACTED] had acted had been different from that of my predecessor in office, his Lordship entered into a satisfactory explanation [REDACTED] that subject. He contended [REDACTED] the true principles of conduct [REDACTED] been equally applied by my predecessor and myself; that the coercive measures which were pursued by Lord Camden were necessary, [REDACTED] the breaking out of a rebellion, for its suppression, and [REDACTED] I [REDACTED] continued [REDACTED] system of rigour while the [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] Rebels remained in any degree collected; but that, when they were dispersed and subdued, I should have acted contrary to every principle of policy, if I [REDACTED] endeavoured [REDACTED] drive [REDACTED] remains of the [REDACTED] to desperation, and had not opened a door for their return [REDACTED] allegiance. [REDACTED] Lordship [REDACTED] showed,

from documents which I supplied, that, in endeavouring to reclaim the minds of the people, and to bring them to the mildness of our Government, I had not failed to apply, on proper occasions, a due measure of severity; and he amplified his assertion by stating that, since the French invasion, 380 Rebels had been tried by Martial Law, that 181 had been capitally convicted, of whom 90 had suffered the punishment of death.

I mentioned his Lordship's speech in very great detail upon the House, and that several members who had intended to vote against the Bill withdrew their opposition.

The Bill being read a second time, about two in the morning, the Opposition pressed to put off the Committee till this day; and John Parnell, who had just returned from dinner, said he would secede from the House upon the measure, if the Committee pressed forward. The question, however, was carried for going into Committee yesterday. When the House met, Mr. Dawson, member for Monaghan, pressed to adjourn the subject until to-day; but, after a short debate, there appeared 72 for going into Committee forthwith, 11 for postponing it.

In the Committee, Mr. Dawson moved that the Bill should operate only in Counties proclaimed, which produced a long and desultory debate, which was not far satisfactory, as it proved that there was no concert in the conduct of the opposers of the Bill. The amendment was negatived, on division, at 11 o'clock in the morning, 11 to 18. Colonel Foster, the Speaker's son, voted in the majority. Some other amendments were proposed and negatived, and the Bill was ordered to be reported. The members having been much fatigued, there was not a House to-day; but I have not any reason to believe that the Bill will be further resisted. When the Regency Bill was read a second time on Tuesday, Lord Castlereagh stated at length the difficulties which must attend any Bill upon this subject, and expatiated on these topics. I

have stated to your [REDACTED] in my despatch upon this subject. [REDACTED] Fitzgerald merely said [REDACTED] he should endeavour [REDACTED] obviate [REDACTED] objections which [REDACTED] been thrown out, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] agreed to put the Bill in Committee on Tuesday next.

CORNWALLIS.

Mr. [REDACTED] to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitchall, February 28, 1799.

My dear Lord—In my letter of the [REDACTED] of February, [REDACTED] secret, [REDACTED] your Lordship, enclosed by direction of [REDACTED] Duke of Portland, for [REDACTED] information of the Lord-Lieutenant, copies and extracts of [REDACTED] intelligence received from Brest. It seems certain that a formidable expedition is preparing there; and, though intelligence of a contrary nature has certainly been received, yet many concurrent circumstances, independent of the present state of the country in Ireland, which must naturally tempt the enemy to [REDACTED] invasion, make it [REDACTED] tremely probable that Ireland is [REDACTED] real object of the expedition.

Your Lordship will find enclosed, marked A, the report of [REDACTED] very intelligent person who [REDACTED] lately been employed to visit the ports of France, the general tenour of which has been confirmed by other information of the same nature. It appears also certain, from authentic information lately collected here, that the United Irishmen in Dublin have received advices from France, and have communicated the [REDACTED] to their friends here, that an expedition will be undertaken from Brest to the [REDACTED] of Ireland in [REDACTED] of the ensuing month, [REDACTED] the beginning of April.

[REDACTED] [REDACTED] letter, either to your Lordship or Mr. Cooke, I [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Doyle had then lately gone [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Ireland with [REDACTED] number of printed cards (one of which I sent enclosed) [REDACTED] in commemoration of what [REDACTED] disaffected call the Martyrdom [REDACTED] Quigley. This [REDACTED] [REDACTED] lately returned, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] brought with him, to the [REDACTED] of the Union here, [REDACTED] assurance that such an expedition will take place at the time above

mentioned, and that [] are now taking, with the utmost activity, for a general rising in Ireland as soon as the French shall appear on the coast. He brings instructions, at the same time, [] have [] communicated only to three leading persons here, [] endeavour to [] a rising at the same moment of the United [] in the capital, and, if possible, in Bristol [] Manchester, [] that [] country may [] prevented from sending any troops [] Ireland. If a rising [] be effected, they hope [] be able either to set fire to a dock-yard, [] to [] his Majesty or Mr. Pitt, in the hope of making as much confusion and creating [] great an alarm as possible.

I am sorry to inform your Lordship that, in furtherance of [] views, the organisation of Societies of United Irishmen [] this capital [] now carried on with [] alarming activity, and that all their proceedings are directed by Irishmen lately [] over, all of whom have been more or less concerned in the [] Rebellion. All of them, however, [] or less under [] direction of the Binnaes; and, as the Duke of Portland is positively informed, and [] he [] every reason to believe, are subject to the control and direction of the Executive Committee in Ireland, which has been appointed by such of the State prisoners as originally filled [] office, and who [] now, of course, incapable of executing it.

Under these circumstances, the Lord-Lieutenant will probably receive immediately [] despatch from the Duke of Portland, recommending the renewing, enforcing, and [] extending the provisions of [] year, with respect to persons passing from one country to the other; and similar provisions will also be made, and similar precautions taken on this side of [] []

Believe me ever, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Extract of a Letter from a person lately arrived from France.

From Rochefort, where [] found 3000 men of the force which was to have followed General Hardy to Ireland, I went to

Nantes, but was [redacted] allowed [redacted] visit Brest. At the former place, however, I was met by an officer of the [redacted] (Gerard [redacted] la Coudraye) employed [redacted] Brest, who [redacted] me that [redacted] pre-[redacted] object was [redacted] eight ships of the line for the next expedition [redacted] Ireland, and [redacted] they [redacted] then (beginning of January) not more than half ready. From Nantes, I [redacted] [redacted] Paris, where I learned that the Directory, though [redacted] without some hesitation and difficulty, [redacted] consented to [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] in [redacted] attempt upon Ireland, and that the Delegates [redacted] Paris, [redacted] frequent disappointments, [redacted] received promises to [redacted] effect. On the 16th of January, I was told by one Latairière, aide-de-camp to General Championnet, who brought [redacted] Italy [redacted] colours, &c., taken from the Neapolitans (and who for this had been promoted), that he was to be employed in the expedition, and that he [redacted] received orders to hold himself in readiness; that 3000 of the troops would consist of those he [redacted] [redacted] Rochefort, and [redacted] remainder be collected from detachments [redacted] the coast and [redacted] Brittany.

Mr. Wickham [redacted] Lord Castlereagh.

Private and Confidential.

Whitehall, March 2, 1799.

My [redacted] Lord—Your Lordship will be surprised, and perhaps disappointed, [redacted] not hearing from [redacted] again [redacted] the subject of my letter marked private [redacted] confidential, of the 28th inst., after the [redacted] promise I made to communicate to you, without loss of time, such information [redacted] [redacted] could collect [redacted] the subject from Mr. Ross or Mr. Long. The motives of my silence, however, I [redacted] confident your Lordship will not disapprove.

The truth [redacted] that, upon due consideration, I thought [redacted] it would [redacted] both more satisfactory and [redacted] pleasant to your Lordship that [redacted] should remind Mr. Pitt of what he had said to [redacted] and ask him to have the goodness to explain to me what had been usually done previous to [redacted] opening of the Irish Budget [redacted] [redacted] omitted [redacted] this occasion, and what [redacted] [redacted] communi-[redacted] that [redacted] expected [redacted] take place on such occasions [redacted]

future, ■■■■ I might convey such information ■■■■ might ■■■■
■■■■ ■■■■ give *directly* to your Lordship, without putting you
under the necessity of applying ■■■■ anybody else.

Mr. Pitt, with ■■■■ greatest readiness, and many expressions
■■■■ kindness and attention ■■■■ your Lordship, immediately de-
sired me ■■■■ say that though, by such a measure, the necessity
of the Lord-Lieutenant's writing fully ■■■■ ■■■■ subject ■■■■
Secretary of State ■■■■ by ■■■■ ■■■■ taken away ■■■■ diminished,
yet ■■■■ ■■■■ been usual of late years, whenever a loan ■■■■ made
by ■■■■ Government of this country to that of Ireland, ■■■■ even
when the Government of Ireland borrowed money in ■■■■
country, but not of the Government of England, for the Chan-
cellor of the Exchequer in Ireland to communicate very fully
on the subject with the Chancellor of the Exchequer here, and
not only to state the precise sum he should want, but also
something of the purposes to which it ■■■■ to be applied, and
the Ways and Means by which provision would be made for
the payment of the interest, previous to any measure being
proposed ■■■■ Parliament. He added that, of late years, the
Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer had come over to England,
for the purpose of giving all the necessary information, ■■■■
arranging all matters that might be subject to any difficulty,
or require any previous discussion ■■■■ explanation.

He said that Sir John Parnell, when in England, ■■■■ stated
to him generally that a ■■■■ which would probably not exceed
£1,500,000 would be wanted by way of loan from this Govern-
ment, to which Mr. Pitt ■■■■ immediately assented; but that
■■■■ had been said and nothing definitively settled ■■■■ to ■■■■
loan ■■■■ ■■■■ Irish Government might have occasion to make,
independent of what it should receive from the Government of
■■■■ country; that, however, ■■■■ ■■■■ essentially requisite ■■■■
■■■■ should be fully, and, as ■■■■ as possible, timely informed
■■■■ that point, ■■■■ without such information, he would neither
■■■■ ■■■■ to ■■■■ ■■■■ own calculations with advantage ■■■■ the
public, ■■■■ give to the ■■■■ for the loan ■■■■ information

which they ■■■ a right to expect of the quantity of money ■■■ would be ■■■ the year for the general service of the Empire. This ■■■ all that ■■■ directly from Mr. Pitt; but, ■■■ soon as the outline of ■■■ business ■■■ settled between the ■■■ Chancellors of the Exchequer, I ■■■ from Mr. Long ■■■ the ■■■ entirely conducted with the Secretaries ■■■ Treasury by Mr. Paget, the ■■■ agent.

Since writing ■■■ above, I have been informed by Mr. Pitt, that he ■■■ morning received a letter from Mr. Corry, giving him all the necessary information. I shall not, however, the less communicate to your Lordship ■■■ this letter contains, ■■■ only because I was bound by my promise to write again ■■■ subject, but because it may possibly ■■■ a satisfaction to your Lordship to know what is really expected here.

I am, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, ■■■ 2, 1799.

My dear Lord—I feel for your Lordship and your friends, when I consider all the trouble that this unfortunate Bill, which the miserable state of the country has rendered necessary, will give you. I tremble lest the ■■■ already before the Commons should have reached the Lords before the Lord-Lieutenant will have received the despatch of this evening; and yet, upon further reflection, I am not quite ■■■ that a total reconsideration of the subject by the Lords well managed and adroitly suggested, thus giving to their Lordships the credit of superior wisdom, might not be the best ■■■ least objectionable mode of getting out of the difficulty. However that may be, the opinion here is ■■■ decided as ■■■ is unanimous, that the Bill, as brought in by the Attorney-General, cannot, on any account, ■■■ suffered to pass. I reproach myself, and I fear your Lordship will have reproached ■■■ not having written ■■■ your Lordship very fully ■■■ subject the moment the Bill ■■■ received. But, the ■■■ is, ■■■ taken ■■■ of my hands

before I had read it, and not returned to me till I had undergone the consideration of everybody else: your Lordship may collect, from the letter I wrote to you the ult., even then I was unacquainted with the result of the [redacted] [redacted] occurred.

As I am extremely late, and the messenger waiting, I shall beg leave to do nothing more than acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 25th, with an account of the opening of the Budget, and inform you that the Duke of Portland has received one of the [redacted] date from your Lordship, containing the account of Mr. [redacted] illness, and also a private [redacted] from the Lord-Lieutenant of the [redacted].

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, [redacted] 12, 1799.

My Lord—I am directed, by the Duke of Portland, to transmit to your Lordship, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, a copy of intelligence received from Lieutenant Hawes, of the Phoenix lugger, relative to the enemy's movements in the Texel; together with an extract of a letter from Captain Temple, of the Jalouse, on the same subject.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

[redacted] 10, 1799.

Lieutenant Hawes, of the Phoenix lugger, who arrived in Yarmouth [redacted] yesterday morning, reports that, at four o'clock on Thursday evening, the 7th instant, he was close in the Texel, by the Hake Sand, where he counted about twenty pendants, all exactly in the same situation as they have been during the winter, moored head and stern; says the Jalouse is seldom ever out of sight of the enemy, keeping, all times, close in by the Sand, so that no alteration whatever can take place in their motions without his knowledge.

*Extract of a Letter from Captain Temple, of his Majesty's
sloop Jalouse.*

Off the Texel, March 7, 1799.

The French prisoners from [redacted] privateer [redacted] took report that fifteen thousand French troops are soon to march into Holland, [redacted] [redacted] embarked in transports.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret.

Whitehall, [redacted] 6, 1799.

My Lord—I am desired, by the Duke of Portland, to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of a letter which I have received from Mr. Nepean, enclosing intelligence from Vice-Admiral Kingsmill, at Cork, relative to [redacted] further rebellious proceedings in Ireland; and, in particular, an intended insurrection at and in [redacted] neighbourhood of the above-mentioned port [redacted] the day stated in the [redacted] intelligence; and I [redacted] to desire that you will lay the same before the Lord-Lieutenant for his Excellency's information.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Nepean to Mr. Wickham.

Admiralty Office, March 6, [redacted]

Sir—I am commanded, by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, [redacted] send you, for the information of his Grace the Duke of Portland, the enclosed copy of intelligence received this morning from Vice-Admiral Kingsmill, [redacted] Cork, relative to [redacted] further rebellious proceedings in Ireland; but, in particular, [redacted] intended insurrection [redacted] and in the neighbourhood of the above-mentioned port on the day stated in [redacted] said intelligence.

I am, &c.,

EVAN NEPEAN.

¹ The letter of Admiral Kingsmill, referred to by Mr. [redacted] [redacted] Mr. Nepean, [redacted] have not been able to find among these papers.

Mr. [REDACTED] to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

Whitehall, [REDACTED] 1798.

My Lord—I [REDACTED] your Lordship enclosed, by [REDACTED] of the [REDACTED] of Portland, for the information of his Excellency [REDACTED] Lord-Lieutenant, [REDACTED] of Secret Reports from a person employed in Holland, which arrived by the [REDACTED] mails, [REDACTED] which may not prove uninteresting to you at this present moment.

[REDACTED] my letter of yesterday, I omitted to insert the [REDACTED] of Doyle's brother (the person with whom Doyle [REDACTED] lodge); he [REDACTED] a pawnbroker, [REDACTED] lives in Chancery Lane. I understood that Doyle only [REDACTED] stop in Dublin for a fortnight: [REDACTED] he intends, afterwards, to [REDACTED] into the country.

Believe me ever, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Extrait d'une Lettre de Wool.

Janvier 7, 1799.

Les Français, après bien [REDACTED] instances, ont obtenu du Directoire Batave de faire sortir d'Hollande six vaisseaux de ligne, deux frégates, ainsi que deux barques canonnières, pour faire, [REDACTED] qu'on assure, [REDACTED] descente en Irlande. On croit qu'ils se joindront à quelque flotte de Brest, [REDACTED] de Rochefort.

Jusqu'à présent, trois capitaines seulement [REDACTED] connus: vis., Van Braam, Capellen, Estberson le jeune: plusieurs [REDACTED] s'étaient adressé au Directoire pour représenter l'impossibilité de [REDACTED] réussir.

[REDACTED] d'une Lettre de Rotterdam.

Janvier 12, 1799.

À Amsterdam on répare le Vischer ou Vanguerde, 76, qui portera 80 canons, et un autre de même grandeur, [REDACTED] qu'un [REDACTED] 68 vient d'être mouillé: [REDACTED] second de 68 en réparation, avec [REDACTED] États-Généraux de 64.

À Rotterdam deux de 74, en construction et deux de 64 en

réparation. Pour le printemps ils seroient prêts 2 de 74, 4 de 68, et 2 frégates.

Dans le port du Texel, 2 de 74 canons, 6 de 68, 1 de 56, manquent à compléter les équipages de ces navires 1000 hommes ; Mars, de 46 ; Ambuscada, de 36 ; Amphitrite, de 36 ; Hector, de 44 ; l'Heroïne, de 36, hors d'état de service ; Dauphin, de 24.

TRANSLATION.

Extract of a Letter from [redacted]

January 7, 1799.

The French, after many entreaties, have prevailed upon the Batavian Directory to despatch from Holland six ships of the line, two frigates, to make, as it is asserted, a descent in Ireland. It is believed that they will join [redacted] squadron from Brest or Rochefort. As yet, three captains only are known, viz., Van Braam, Capellen, and Esterson, junior ; several others had addressed themselves to the Directory, for the purpose of representing the impossibility of succeeding.

Extract of a Letter from Rotterdam.

January 12, 1799.

At Amsterdam, they are repairing the Vlscher, or Vanguard, 76, which will carry 80 guns, and another of the same size ; likewise another, of 66, has just been moored ; a second, of 68, is under repair, with the States-General of 64.

At Rotterdam two seventy-fours building, two sixty-fours under repair. By spring, there will be ready two of 74, four of 68, and two frigates.

In [redacted] harbour of the Texel, 2 of 74, 6 of 68, 2 of 66—wanting to complete the crews of these ships 1600 men ; Mars, of 46 ; Ambuscada, of 36 ; Amphitrite, of 36 ; Hector, of 44 ; Heroïne, of 36, unfit for service ; Dauphin, 24.

[redacted] of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Secret and Confidential.

Whitchell, [redacted] 8, [redacted]

My Lord—The public attention, notwithstanding the avowed determination of Government not again to bring forward the question of [redacted] in the [redacted] of the present Session, appears to [redacted] so entirely occupied by that subject, its influence so evidently [redacted] itself in the discussion of every [redacted] which [redacted] under the consideration of the

■■■■ Commons, and it ■■■■ the Opposition ■■■■
 harass and retard the progress of business to so great a degree,
 ■■■■ I ■■■■ recommend ■■■■ your Excellency ■■■■ take, without
 further delay, such means as, without abandoning the ■■■■
 ■■■■ may judge ■■■■ most effectual for allaying the apprehensions
 ■■■■ have been conceived of its effects, ■■■■ ■■■■
 may best tend ■■■■ reconcile to it ■■■■ who, with the exception
 ■■■■ the proprietors ■■■■ trading inhabitants of Dublin, ■■■■ be
 principally, ■■■■ not solely, affected by it.

By a very ingenious and interesting letter of Lord Castlereagh's, which I ■■■■ the pleasure of receiving ■■■■ the 7th ult.
 (and ■■■■ which I have not ■■■■ adverted, from the necessity
 of acquiescing, for the present, ■■■■ what ■■■■ to be collected
 from the debate on the Report of the Address to be the opinion
 of the Irish House of Commons) the different descriptions of
 persons whose present interests dispose them to be adverse to
 the ■■■■ ■■■■ so justly and accurately defined, the ■■■■
 of their opposition are so clearly and distinctly detailed, and
 the means of removing them so judiciously and satisfactorily
 pointed out, (and they seem, moreover, ■■■■ much within reach)
 that I should advise your Excellency to resort ■■■■ them with-
 out loss of time, ■■■■ I not sensible that your general local
 knowledge, and the means your situation gives you of ob-
 serving the temper of the country, as well ■■■■ the disposition of
 ■■■■ leading interests, enable you to choose the most favourable
 mode and opportunity of making this ■■■■ arrangement known,
 either by ■■■■ open avowal of it and specification of it in detail,
 (which, ■■■■ this moment, ■■■■ conceive would scarcely be prudent)
 ■■■■ by letting it get out by degrees, as a project that might be
 in ■■■■ contemplation of Government, if, ■■■■ communication ■■■■
 individuals, ■■■■ should be found likely to recommend the general
 ■■■■ of Union. But, at whatever time, whether on ■■■■
 receipt of this despatch, or at a ■■■■ period, your Excellency
 ■■■■ determine to open this plan, I conclude that your first
 communication will ■■■■ of that part of it which ■■■■ intended ■■■■

County interests, to restore you the support independent most respectable members of the House, and that they will be informed, in the first instance, that their relative situation in respect of will be exactly the same in United in the Irish House of Commons. For, upon consideration which Majesty's here have been able to give the subject, they are convinced that, under whatever circumstances the of Union may brought forward, County representation should remain exactly on footing that is present, and that, consequently, each county should continue to send two Representatives.

By arrangement, the most important of Lord Castlereagh's classes, viz., the first and second interest in Counties, considered in that point of view only, left, not only without pretext of complaint, but, without their being exposed to any risk, expence, or trouble, in addition to that which they are now subject to, their situations necessarily become doubled value and importance. How far it may be insisted on that Union will give additional security the first County interests your Excellency will best judge; but, inasmuch as it will necessarily reduce the number of all species of Parliamentary Adventurers, they will gain, in common with other landed proprietors, and, it may render it less an object any one to endeavour to create a Catholic interest in a County, both these classes, but the first in particular, cannot but find themselves considerably benefitted. These, however, contingencies on which I lay no particular stress: there such abundant other for reconciling these two classes to the measure, that, when their fears respecting their situations are quieted, they cannot but anticipate the personal as well public advantages which must result from adoption, become strenuous advocates in favour.

With respect to the borough proprietors, though I subscribe to any proposal for increasing the number of Representatives beyond at the utmost, and not prepared to

Castlereagh's valuation of either English or Boroughs, I have no difficulty in authorizing your Excellency to hold out the idea of compensation to all persons possessed of species of property, and I do not scruple to advise compensation should be made upon a liberal principle. But, part of the plan cannot be carried into execution without attending a variety of considerations and entering great details, I will go no further into it present say I should strongly incline to follow, nearly may be, the method adopted in Scotland of classing the Boroughs, which has, least, the authority of a century's experience. I cannot conclude this part of the subject without expressing a hope that, from the additional value which the Borough will acquire in the United Parliament, exclusive of any consideration of the seats for Counties, it will be found that this very great and never to be lost sight of object will be attained upon much easier terms, in all respects, than the caution of Lord Castlereagh will allow him to imagine.

As to the lawyers and those adventurers, who tempted to speculate in Parliamentary politics by the cheapness of seats, at the last general election, there can be no pretenders to compensation whom I should be less disposed, and, I should hope, will be less necessary, to consider than both, particularly the description of them.

As soon as the two descriptions of County interests are secured, of the practicability of which I have little doubt, and in which a considerable part of the third class, Borough proprietors, is necessarily included, there is most obvious mode of settling the pretensions of the professional politicians, and, the same time, an opportunity of giving an boon to the Borough proprietors. Your Excellency will anticipate my meaning, and infer that I allude to nothing a dissolution of the present Parliament—a step which, I should imagine, would be much approved by the public, would be highly agreeable to such Borough

proprietors as would, by that means, be restored to the possession ■ their ■ natural weight ■ importance, and be completely relieved from the tyranny of those disclaimers whom they unwarily brought into the House of Commons ■ the last general election. As a popular measure (as far as that may ■ thought worth attention), ■ might have ■ ■ in being represented as a proof of the candour of Government ■ resorting, ■ such ■ occasion, to the ■ of the constituent body. But this is ■ ■ which I throw out with entire deference to your better judgment, because, notwithstanding the advantage which it ■ to afford, in ■ point of view in which I ■ it, it may ■ capable of producing consequences which, in the opinion of ■ closer and ■ experienced observer, may render it too dangerous ■ experiment to be attempted.

The apprehensions of ■ descriptions of Proprietors and resident inhabitants in Dublin are too natural to be treated as prejudices, ■ to be expected to be got the better of by the common ■ of persuasion or influence. Nothing, however, should be omitted that can conciliate or dispose them to acquiesce in the ■. In respect to representation, I conceive there could be no objection to put them upon the ■ footing ■ the Counties, and ■ leave them in possession of the two Seats they ■ have in the House of Commons. Any and every other indulgence might also be conceded ■ them; but, ■ the ■ time, they must be given to understand that, whenever ■ shall be thought advisable to bring ■ the measure of Union, their supposed local interests will not be considered as any obstacle ■ it, and ■ not be expected to be put in competition with those of the kingdom in general, and ■ stability ■ aggrandizement of the British Empire.

I have gone ■ greater length than I first intended into ■ subject; but I have been irresistibly ■ ■ pursue the masterly outline, which ■ been traced for me by Lord Castlereagh. My anxiety, also, that ■ remainder of your ■ ■ rendered as easy as, I am persuaded, ■ ■ honourable

to you, was a further inducement; nor was it the least of my motives to suggest to your Excellency the means which occurred to me to quiet the jealousies which prevailed, and reunite the power and property of the kingdom, as well as the purpose of discouraging the enemy from tempting, and defeating him in his attempt to invade you, and the purpose of promoting the of a Union, the necessity of which is fully incontrovertibly proved by the event of every day.

I have the honour, &c.,
PORTLAND.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, 12, 1799.

My Lord—I am directed, by the Duke of Portland, to transmit to your Lordship, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, a copy of a paper, which has been received from Captain d'Auvergne, Prince of Bouillon, containing intelligence from Brest and St. Maloes.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Substance of the information received on the 2nd day of March, of the at Brest on the 24th of February inclusive, and at St. Maloes on the 2nd of March, 1799.

Brest, February 19th. The Montblanc, Wattigny, and Tell, with frigates Cornélie and Fraternité, mustered in the morning, and received orders to go out to Bertheaume.

February 24th. Small detachments of troops that have embarked upon the former have been landed, their sailing suspended till further orders. Four frigates and a corvette (frigates Cornélie, Fraternité, Precieuse, Vengeance, Tactique) are under sailing orders, with four months' sea provisions. The crews have been paid two months in advance.

of the Road on the 24th of February—2 three-deck ships, 74 guns, 8 frigates, 1 corvette, 1 cutter, and 2 privateers. The convoy that came the 6th, under of the frigate *La Creole*, is in the harbour unloading. The seven ships ready in the harbour will soon be in the Road, their crews completing daily by the arrival of levies. 80 waggons, loaded with rope, have arrived within these days, but cables continue. The *Terrible* and *Invincible* have landed their lower deck-guns, what purpose not known. Within last days, money to amount of millions of livres has arrived the Treasury from Paris. Five millions more on their way. It is stated, that all this money is intended to be embarked in the frigates destined for the secret expedition in contemplation, which, although there is no affectation about the head-quarters to say it is intended for the colonies, it is suspected that Ireland is its more probable destination, as officers of that nation have arrived the time, though privately it possible. The artificers have ceased working the *Indivisible* and *Vengeur*.

St. Maloes, 27th February. Four of the gun-vessels of Granville have brought iron for the frigates *Solidor*.

March 2nd. The garrison of the town consists of 2100 men, part of which is about to proceed for Brest.

The greatest activity is put to collect for Brest. The invalids of this district are distributed the stationary vessels, and able crews are sent to Brest; and, as the privateers return, their crews equally there.

D'AUVERGNE, Prince of Bouillon.

Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh.

London, 18, 1799.

My dear Lord—In consequence of your Lordship's informed of my sentiments respecting the part it may be

you to take on the usual motion for voting the thanks of the House to the Speaker for his speech in presenting the Money Bills — the Lord-Lieutenant, I observe — you that, — the advantages — which — are entitled, — me — right of introducing — conducting — which affect the public interest may — reckoned one of the most material, — ought never to be suffered, — possible, — pass into other hands. As the proceeding therefore in question is of a public nature, — always, — I understand, brought forward by the Chief Secretary, I — hesitate in advising your Lordship — keep it in — course, and, if the terms in which the Speaker delivers himself do not exceed the bounds of decorum in — a manner — to call upon the House rather to — censure upon him than to make him a compliment, I should hope that you would — yourself — mover of the vote of thanks. I neither recommend nor should I have pleasure in seeing advances made by the Chief Secretary to Mr. Foster; but an acknowledgment, in conformity to — accustomed practice, made on the part of the Secretary to the Speaker, for — having performed an official — of duty with propriety, is — tainly — degradation of the private — public character of the former: whereas, I am not sure that a transfer of the — even into the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, might not — construed to be — act of sorenness, which would be treated — an avowal of — Speaker's superiority—a consolation which I should be sorry, and which I cannot believe will be afforded him — long as I — liberty to indulge the idea of the triumph you gave — the real friends of Government by your very judicious and — determination of supposing you could not — have been invited to the Ways and Means dinner.

With respect to Government, no difference can be made — common estimation of — public whether the — the Chair are moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, — Chief Secretary, — any other of the confidential advisers of

the Lord-Lieutenant, and, after having adverted to the circumstance which I have mentioned in the preceding paragraph, I should be ashamed of touching again upon the personal ground. I cannot, however, but wish you to look at the subject in another point of view, and to consider the embarrassments which you may be exposed to the Opposition, even any of the young independent members, should take possession of the motion; for, although I am inclined to believe the visible alteration in the temper and feelings of the House, broken and of the Opposition, the Speaker's being convinced of the decline of his party and influence both within and without doors, and the proofs daily given him that the Union neither is in reality nor can be made so unpopular as he is sure, may restrain him from expressing himself upon this occasion in a manner which ought to deprive him of the usual measure of civility. It is not improbable that persons of the description I have mentioned may be eager to pay him this compliment, and may have unwarily accepted suggestions, which may commit the House, though not into a direct engagement against a Union, into such an approbation of his conduct as may imply a disapprobation of that of Government, and retard the composure of those differences which have impeded the re-establishment of that confidence to which Government is entitled: I therefore cannot but submit to your Lordship that the best and perhaps the only means of guarding against this species of mischief, and securing the House from giving way to an extravagant strain of compliment, and being deluded by the appearance of civility to the Speaker to imply a disapprobation or dissatisfaction in his conduct of Government, will be to leave the matter into your own hands, and let him and the public see distinctly and precisely the measure for which the honours of the House are to be given to him.

Notwithstanding, however, what I have assumed upon the authority of what I conceive to be the existing circumstances of the country, both as they relate to the Speaker and the public,

I am very far from thinking it impossible that he may imagine his case to be so desperate as to hazard on the occasion of presenting an avowal of opinions and sentiments which may oblige your Lordship to make a motion of a very from that which I have been discussing, to for the animadversion and of the House; and, although I am assured, by the repeated proofs I have of your temper and forbearance, that, if such a proposal shall be made by you, the honour and character of Government have rendered it indispensable. I omit to recommend it to you not only to resist the motion of thanks, but to anticipate it if necessary, by taking possession of the House the the Speaker the chair, and calling upon them to assert and vindicate their honour and their own privileges, by protesting against the breach of them of which the Speaker was guilty the Bar of House of Lords, in presuming to give his as the sentiments of the House, and usurping powers inconsistent with situation and with the trust reposed in him. But I do not mean to suggest the mode which it will be best for your Lordship to adopt under the last supposed circumstances, the existence of which no man can deprecate sincerely and earnestly than I do, and in which, if you shall happen unfortunately to be involved, your own abilities and judgment are fully capable to extricate you from them. But, as the may happen, I thought it my duty to advert to it, and not to leave in doubt your mind of the propriety of meeting it and repelling it with all the fortitude and energy of Government.

I am, with great truth and regard, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Mr. to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, March 15, 1799.

My Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to transmit to your Lordship herewith an extract of a letter received

from [redacted] Continent, from a person employed to collect information from Holland, and I am to desire that you will lay the [redacted] before the Lord-Lieutenant, for [redacted] Excellency's information.

I have [redacted] honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

By a person lately from Amsterdam I am informed [redacted] the Dutch fleet have received orders to [redacted] in readiness for immediate sailing. Four thousand land troops [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] barked on board this fleet. It is conjectured [redacted] a conscription [redacted] for the levying [redacted] army of 90,000 [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] place; [redacted] young men have already [redacted] [redacted] on that account, and it [redacted] thought great disturbances [redacted] arise in consequence thereof.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlemeagh.

Whitehall, [redacted] 16, 1799.

My Lord—I [redacted] directed by the Duke of Portland to [redacted] mit to your Lordship, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, a copy of a letter from Lieutenant Harrison, commanding [redacted] Spider cutter, stating the intelligence he had received of [redacted] sailing of a force from Bourdeaux; also a copy of one from Mr. Nepean to Admiral Kingsmill in consequence thereof.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Spider, off Palmouth, [redacted] 10, 1799.—6 [redacted]

Sir—At noon [redacted] day I boarded a Prussian vessel eight days from Bourdeaux, from whom I obtained the following intelligence, which I conceived of [redacted] to communicate [redacted] their Lordships. [redacted] stood in with [redacted] schooner for Palmouth, being the nearest port to forward this letter.

Intelligence.

On the 27th of February, five frigates, four transports, and [redacted] store-ships, [redacted] troops (the number unknown), sailed

from Bourdeaux, and, on the following day, eighteen sail more, consisting of privateers, armed vessels, small craft, troops also sailed, report for Brest.

from whom I had this information an American, had been taken by the French about six months past, and had got off in the above Prussian vessel. appeared to be an intelligent master of the American ship when seized by French. He farther they were building several privateers Bourdeaux from 16 to guns.

I am, &c.,

RICHARD HARRISON.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

Admiralty Office, 13, 1799.

Sir—I commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you the copy of a letter which I have this day received from Lieutenant Harrison, of the Spider cutter. Though their Lordships have to suppose, from any intelligence which before reached them, that the enemy any force to mentioned in the letter Bourdeaux, or any information that could lead them to suppose that any expedition of that description likely to sail from thence for Ireland, they have nevertheless thought it right reinforce the squadron under your command by the ships Russell, Phoebe, and Proselyte, to be employed by you as may be found to require. The three ships Plymouth ready to sail, and may be expected join you very shortly after the receipt of this.

I am, &c.,

EVAN NEPEAN.

Admiral Kingsmill.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, March 16, 6 P.M.

My Lord—Secret information this instant received that gives strong reason to believe that a military force is about on board the fleet in the Texel. Probabilities are that its destination is for Ireland, but I have seen nothing yet

■ give me ■ certainty that was acquired of the destination of the ■ expeditions from the coast of France to that country.

Believe me, ■ ■ sincerest regard, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, ■ ■ 18, 1799.

My Lord—The communication made ■ your Excellency of the sentiments of the King's confidential servants, respecting a Regency Bill, ■ the time I was first informed of them, giving ■ to believe that it was in the contemplation of the gentlemen in Opposition ■ bring forward such a measure, and the observations then submitted to you as to the terms and ■ on which its introduction might be consented to, inclined me to imagine that ■ would not be necessary for me to recur to that subject, and I was the ■ confirmed in that opinion by your Excellency's despatch of the ■ of February, by which you informed ■ of ■ very able and judicious ■ in which Lord Castlereagh had proposed to treat the subject, and the advantages which he expected to derive from ■ discussion of it in favour of the Union. But, ■ I find that my conclusion ■ not well founded, and ■ the ■ is ■ suspended for the purpose of allowing time for further consideration, and for your receiving any observations ■ suggestions which may have occurred to his Majesty's Government here, I hasten to acquaint you that the opinion ■ originally entertained of ■ ■ remains exactly the same; that, though it ■ generally considered to be ■ sary and a consequence which might be well insisted ■ ■ be necessarily dependent ■ the Annexation, that ■ ■ not ■ any injury to the Constitution ■ connexion of ■ kingdoms ■ to ■ apprehended from it, should ■ be adopted, with ■ restriction ■ the honour of stating ■ you, it was judged advisable in the pressure of the moment, ■

assailed as you then were by every description of parliamentary schemers, to waive the objection which its futility and uselessness suggested, and to make this concession with the view of the possibility of its enabling you the better to resist attempts of a more insidious and dangerous tendency.

The objection is suggested by Lord Castlereagh, and which there is certainly great weight, namely, it is a measure which ought not to have found its way to the House but by a message from the Crown, did not, I confess, occur to any of us at the time of our deliberation upon the Bill, and it has now been so long before the House that I incline to think that point of form would not be brought forward with any kind of grace were the expectations of the advantages that might arise from the discussion of the measure to be wholly abandoned; but, even supposing the objection should be started by some independent member, who is at liberty to order, I should recommend that it should be resisted on the ground of the distinction which exists between an Act for the appointment of a particular person to be Regent, or which gives a power of such appointment to the Crown, and one which purports only to be explanatory of the Act of the 33d of Henry VIII.

I should hope now that I have fully explained the views of Government respecting this question, and that no further doubt could remain with your Excellency concerning that subject, for the full investigation of which Lord Castlereagh has created an interest which I never expected to feel, from the indifference with which I first looked to its termination. Desirous, however, as I may be that I should have an opportunity to say so much in thinking this measure would afford him of establishing the necessity of a Union, I submit to your Excellency whether it may be worth while to delay the conclusion of the Session for that purpose, and the more so as I am much disposed to believe that the means of conviction most substantially employed, and

work of conciliation [REDACTED] easily and securely effected in [REDACTED] recess of Parliament than in the bustle of a Session.

I [REDACTED] close this letter without congratulating your Excellency upon [REDACTED] acquisition you have [REDACTED] of Mr. Corry's talents and activity, by placing [REDACTED] in a situation where both [REDACTED] be so advantageously employed, and where, I hear, they have been [REDACTED] eminently displayed throughout the [REDACTED] of the Session.

I am, &c.,

PORTLAND.

I have the honour to acquaint you that the Bill for the suppression of [REDACTED] Rebellion [REDACTED] the other [REDACTED] [REDACTED] brought here [REDACTED] morning by Hyde, [REDACTED] messenger, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] I hope nothing will prevent [REDACTED] returning with them on Wednesday, which is the first day his Majesty will be in town again.

P.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, [REDACTED] 16, [REDACTED]

My dear Lord—The bearer, Captain Schouler, being charged [REDACTED] the part of his Prussian Majesty to inspect such of the Irish rebels, [REDACTED] in custody, as may be found [REDACTED] for service and willing to engage in the service of his Prussian Majesty; the Duke of Portland has granted him permission [REDACTED] proceed to Ireland for that purpose, and [REDACTED] [REDACTED] desired by his Grace [REDACTED] recommend him to your Lordship's protection and good offices.

Believe [REDACTED] ever, &c., &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, March 30, 1799.

My dear Lord—The Report of the Secret Committee [REDACTED] made on Friday, by Mr. Secretary Dundas, and [REDACTED] Report ordered to be printed. I am sorry that it will not be in my power [REDACTED] transmit your Lordship a copy of [REDACTED] before [REDACTED] comes from the press. I had hoped [REDACTED] have been able to procure a

printed copy of the Report itself without the Appendix, contains a history of the Societies that had been formed in the metropolis and the rest of the kingdom since the French Revolution, connecting whole together, and showing that, under shapes, and pretences, they have all pursued the same object, namely, the destruction of the existing Government, and the establishment of a Democratical Republic, the and under the protection of France. The Report then goes on to explain the present state of things, in a manner must draw the attention of the public as well to a of the general danger as to the means of preventing it.

What legislative be adopted in consequence of this Report, I cannot say, as I believe that the Cabinet has not yet come to any resolution on those which have been submitted their consideration. The Committee, before they reported to the House, had but too good reason to be satisfied of the evidence which a material part of their Report was founded. Some doubts having arisen whether the Society of United Irishmen in this metropolis regularly organized and formed into divisions, a warrant granted by the Duke of Portland last Sunday week, and one of the houses searched, which a division said regularly to meet.

persons found sitting round a little table, with a letter from Doyle, of whom your Lordship has often heard, open before them, addressed to No. 2; a list of the secretaries to of the other divisions also taken, a copy of which your Lordship will receive the examination of these people, which will place to-morrow.

Attorney General's Bill be returned to-day: I hope and trust it will now answer every purpose. I hope to write your Lordship fully on subject to-morrow.

I have honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

I have just obtained the Report of the Committee of Secrecy.

Mr. [REDACTED] to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitchall, [REDACTED] 20, [REDACTED]

My Lord—I send your Lordship enclosed, by the direction of the Duke of Portland, extract of a letter from the Prince de Bonillon, to Mr. Secretary Dundas, containing secret information respecting the preparations carrying on in the port of Brest, and I am to request your Lordship will be pleased to lay the same before the Lord-Lieutenant for his Excellency's information.

I have [REDACTED] honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Substance of information received the 11th March, 1799, of [REDACTED] movements at Brest, from the 25th February, to the [REDACTED] March, inclusive.

Jersey, March 12, 1799.

Brest, February 25, 1799.—The corvettes l'Etonnant and la Mignonne sailed this morning to go and meet a convoy expected with wines from the Garonne; [REDACTED] [REDACTED] signalized in sight [REDACTED] the time they sailed.

February 26.—The four frigates under orders make demonstrations daily of a disposition to proceed to [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] favourable opportunity; the four line of [REDACTED] ships, which, together with the above, formed the division ready for [REDACTED] under the orders of Citizen Redon, are kept ready, but not expected to proceed with the frigates, upon whom the money lately arrived [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Irish officers are embarked. Waggoners are arriving in large convoys every day from different quarters, [REDACTED] with cordage and requisition naval stores; 1,800 waggons are announced [REDACTED] the bureaux with such stores to complete the armament of the squadron equipped for Admiral Bruix [REDACTED] command, which [REDACTED] pressed [REDACTED] ready early [REDACTED] Germinal.

March 4.—Tirannicide, of [REDACTED] guns, and the frigate La Cocarde, are ready [REDACTED] go into the road. The Convention, [REDACTED] Mutine, [REDACTED] the Entrepenant, [REDACTED] three of the line of battle,

are got into the basin to be cut down *raft*, as is also the Berwick to be, as soon as there is room for her. Citoyen Morand has received his commission of Commandant d'Armes of the Ports of the Levant, and ordered to proceed to Naples, Citoyen Renaudin is already gone to inspect and order preparations for armament. Citoyen Consant succeeds as Commandant d'Armes (Admiral of the Port), Gallea, and the Chef de Division, Bois Sauveur, is Commandant en second.

D'AUVERGNE, Prince of Bouillon.

Right Hon. George Lord Castlereagh.

Old Palace Yard, March 21,

My dear Lord—The question you put on the Bill enclosed in your letter of the 14th is an extremely difficult for answer, especially as I am not acquainted with many of the circumstances which are entitled to consideration on the important subject. On the here suspending their payments in cash, an Act was passed permitting the issue of small notes on demand, which, having been continued from time to time, is this day renewed for some months, and, I am inclined to believe, will be prolonged before the end of the Session: are allowed, whereas heretofore nothing under £5 suffered; and in Scotland, where nothing under was permitted, they are allowed to issue as low as 10s. It certainly not, however, by any means follow that a similar practice should be allowed to prevail in Ireland; the authority, indeed, under which your was introduced is so respectable as to be a strong disinclination to express even the slightest doubt about it, although your proceeding is directly opposite to ours, as you are about to restrain a right which we thought expedient to extend.

I hazard the suggestions I am about to offer with extreme diffidence, I assure you; I submit them only because I think I should be justified in withholding anything may

have the remotest chance in being useful in assisting the deliberations you will have on the business before it is again discussed in public. Is it possible for the Irish Bank ■ ■ prepared to ■ ■ ■ the whole of their paper before ■ 24th of June next? Without knowing the amount of the small notes current, or the sum in guineas which the Bank ■ Ireland can spare in addition to those now in circulation, that cannot, I think, be answered.

It is, perhaps, intended ■ ■ bank-notes ■ ■ substituted for the others, which would lessen the risk of mischief, and the question would be only whether one National Bank ■ ■ monopolize ■ ■ whole ■ ■ circulation of ■ ■ country, ■ whether it should continue to be divided among the banks generally. If I could venture an opinion where I have ■ ■ information, it would be against such ■ monopoly. Any ■ ■ that would bring into considerable danger the mercantile credit ■ such ■ time ■ the present should be well weighed. If the amount ■ circulation is large, ■ the paper to be called in ■ suddenly as the 4th [24th ?] of June, many issuers of those notes might be distressed to get bank-notes to change for their own, and ■ apprehensions of distress might hurt both the individual and the general mercantile credit, which might likewise probably involve your national credit.

It may have happened the bankers and others ■ have lately issued ■ notes than usual, from the necessity of keeping gold ■ ■ them being lessened, from the general understanding ■ no man's credit ■ ■ hurt by his ■ being ■ to ■ in cash. Persons on your side of ■ water may have also been led to make larger issues than they would otherwise have done with a view of preventing ■ ■ ■ which the convulsion in the country might otherwise have produced. ■ ■ conjecture is ■ the truth ■ a supposition that the evil ■ arisen from an extravagant speculation ■ such a time as this, ■ possible remedy might be ■ compel the private banks to proceed only *pari passu* with the

Bank in offering certain payments—which would perhaps be a measure just in itself, might deter the banks from any extravagant additional issues, as they could know how they might have to pay cash in an proportion their recent

Another expedient might be require security of Irish Funds, otherwise—such one has often been thought here—or the number might be limited by licences to issuers; both these ideas might be adopted to secure the solvency and respectability of the persons who up the trade.

I am sure whether forgeries (of which the danger must considerable) would not be more likely to be checked by the small circulating paper being issued by private banks, rather than being confined to the public one; as, in the former case, the notes much oftener into the hands of the issuers than in the latter.

It not worthy of consideration, too, whether, under existing circumstances, the general circulation of notes may not in interesting the Irish people who hold them in the support of property; and is it possible that too large a substitution of guineas might to a system of hoarding, either from malevolence or timidity? It is incontrovertible almost the whole mischief here, in 1797, from the latter, to which I allude in my pamphlet.¹ I think, too, the danger is not entirely visionary of the Bill in its present shape creating a distress among the lower and middling of people, by depriving them suddenly of a small circulating medium, and frequently compelling shopkeepers to sell on credit. Anti-Unionists may talk of dissimilarity of the going through the English and Irish Parliaments.

¹ The pamphlet, then just published, to which Mr. Rose refers in this and the following Letter, was entitled, "A brief Examination into the Increase of the Revenue, Commerce, and Manufactures of Great Britain."

Another consideration [redacted] since presented itself, which is, that the Irish bankers may be under an increased difficulty to find cash to pay immediately their small notes, from their having kept by them a much smaller quantity since the custom has prevailed of not paying in cash than they formerly used [redacted] keep: they used probably to trust to getting guineas [redacted] [redacted] of Ireland when other [redacted] [redacted] them.

I cannot flatter myself with a hope [redacted] anything I have said can [redacted] useful to you; but it is really not in my power to give you further assistance, without being better informed [redacted] the subject than I [redacted] I am, &c.,

GEORGE [redacted]

Right Hon. George Rose to Lord Castlereagh.

Old [redacted] Yard, [redacted] 29, 1799.

My dear Lord—I answered your letter yesterday in the best way I could, in the midst of urgent business pressing on [redacted] before the holidays; since which, it has occurred to [redacted] that it might be useful to suggest to your Lordship further that the Bank of England is *permitted*, not *directed*, to pay cash, after certain notices given to such part of their creditors as they please; and that, in pursuance of such permission, they have paid their Notes under £5 (that is, those of £1 and £2) which had been issued to a certain period. The amount of them they have, of course, always known, and, after a certain interval, [redacted] is probable they will pay Notes of a like [redacted] to a later period, though they have not promised to do [redacted] Our [redacted] have hitherto prescribed to themselves no bounds to [redacted] number of these small Notes; but have given [redacted] many as [redacted] asked for in exchange for larger [redacted] Thus a possessor of large [redacted] has a reasonable prospect of exchanging them in [redacted] for cash. [redacted] prospect, however, would [redacted] [redacted] promising [redacted] any serious calamity [redacted] be apprehended.

I mention these circumstances to show how [redacted] understand

what is meant to be done by your Bill, because your Lordship observes there is a willingness on the part of the Irish Bank to pay their [redacted] under £5, as has been done in England; which, [redacted] suppose, might in itself go a great way to check the inordinate circulation of private paper, as the issuers would feel themselves under the necessity of adopting a similar arrangement; whereas, [redacted] to me [redacted] such a one would secure only the payment of private Notes of [redacted] data, which might be replaced by the issue of new ones; and the private Banker would possibly claim a right to exercise the same discretion as to the number of old Notes he should discharge that [redacted] exercised by the National Bank; and thus he would not [redacted] [redacted] adopt either exact times of payment, [redacted] the date they might fix for their Notes to be paid off. The public Bank has its option; it pays when it likes, and only as much as it likes: [redacted] private Banks would, I presume, be compelled to pay, and to [redacted] so, even in the event of the present partial and occasional payment of the public [redacted] being suspended, which would certainly make an important difference.

But, the most important difficulty to which I referred in my letter of yesterday is—how are the issuers of small Notes to possess themselves of the necessary cash? In ordinary times, the private Bankers had, I take it for granted, a certain sum, in cash, lying in their houses, which was calculated to be sufficient for the ordinary demands upon them; but, from the custom of not paying in cash, they may not be provided now. On the other hand, I am sure there are very great inconveniences to be apprehended from the unrestrained issue of small Notes by individuals. Your Lordship, and [redacted] [redacted] whom you advise [redacted] the spot, can best judge whether the suggestions I offered yesterday as expedients to check the practice, or any other better [redacted] more effectual ones, can be adopted.

I send you a second edition of my pamphlet, for the sake of the statements in p. 38, which show, for the first time, the true state of our trade, which we could never give till we were

1799.]

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

to do so by the operation of the Convey Tax. from the House of Lords which have been you. I am, &c.,

Knowing that entertained an opinion the subject of the issue of small Notes being permitted, I him both my letters to you, and I enclose you subject.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, 23,

My Lord—I have the honour to send your Lordship, enclosed, by direction of the Duke of Portland, six Extracts of letters from Sir James Oramford, his Majesty's Minister at Hamburg, to Lord Grenville, received by the last Mails, containing secret information respecting United Irishmen now in that town, together with a copy of a Memorial of Dennis O'Neill to the French Government; and I am to request your Lordship will be pleased to lay the same before the Lord-Lieutenant, for his Excellency's information.

With the greatest truth and regard, I am, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Hamburg, January 24, 1799.

Hastings, who escaped from the custody of Basilico, the senger, has been for time at Altona. I have not taken any measures to have him arrested, conceiving that, if he been an object of any importance to Majesty's Government, I should have received instructions to that effect.

I have learnt, since writing the above, of United Irishmen, who lately from hence to by way of Holland, has written to one of his friends here that something will be done, and that the fleet in the Texel preparing to put He adds, "I dare say no more for my should miscarry." He then mentions that some

of the [redacted] [redacted] Paris are [redacted] to Rochelle, from whence they have [redacted] in contemplation [redacted] send another expedition to Ireland.

I have [redacted] been informed of a circumstance [redacted] [redacted] confirm [redacted] supposition. It is, that the French Government have, of late, intercepted all correspondence between the United Irishmen here and their committee [redacted] Paris, which measure [redacted] been uniformly adopted upon the eve of the departure of the several expeditions which they have sent against Ireland.

January 25, 1799.

There [redacted] two persons, by name H— [redacted] B—, United Irishmen, I understand, lately arrived here. They are going to France, under the [redacted] of D— and F—, [redacted] F—. There is also [redacted] J— here, an Irishman, of the [redacted] description, but of whom [redacted] know nothing more. This, therefore, particularly considering how common a name he bears, [redacted] very vague.

February 5, 1799.

I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a few hints which I have received respecting the following United Irishmen.

One M'O—, of Belfast, said to have been very active in organizing the Rebellion in Wexford, is [redacted] the country-seat of [redacted] uncle [redacted] brother, [redacted] eminent watchmaker and jeweller, in King Street, Cheapside, London.

One P—, of Dublin, is, with [redacted] St. J—, of the Post Office, [redacted] a friend's, No. 151, Drury Lane. St. J— has [redacted] [redacted] name of J—.

One C—, who is here, has had a letter from [redacted] O'M—, of the County of Meath, desiring to know where the [redacted] [redacted] concealed; [redacted] "many Counties had already risen," [redacted] O'M— was a captain under C—, in the late insurrection. He says, in [redacted] letter, that O'Connor and his companions are in as high repute [redacted] ever with the people.

This intelligence is [redacted] [redacted] of no other importance than, as

■ shows, that something might ■ learnt from O'M——'s ■
 correspondence, ■ ■ intercepted.

One D——, arrested at Oliver Bond's, but now ■ large, ■
 ■ ■ of ■ new Executive Committee lately chosen in
 Dublin.

One O'H——, of Antrim, ■ ■ merchant in Dublin, is a
 great patron of United Irishmen.

At the foot of the vault in ■ Bride's churchyard, Dublin,
 are some hundred pikes ■ bayonets, in ■ fir box, ■ about
 five feet deep. These are the arms wrote for by O'M—— ■
 C——. It ■ ■ be of consequence to have these arms taken
 away with as little *éclat* as possible; as, I believe, no one
 knows of this *dépôt* besides the parties concerned and the
 person from whom I have received this information, who, of
 course, is afraid of being committed.

I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship ■ copy of ■
 Memorial sent by one Dennis O'Neill, ■ United Irishman, to
 the French Government, in which he says that he left Ireland
 the second of December, at which time the people had become
 ■ ■ united than ever.¹

One Longmarre, a Frenchman, who set out to-day for
 England, but without ■ passport from me, has been pointed
 out to ■ ■ ■ suspicious person, whether justly ■ not I have
 yet ■ means of knowing. An active correspondence is kept
 up, I understand, between the coast of Holland, particularly
 the port of Flushing, and the east coast of England, by
 means of smuggling vessels.

February 12, ■ ■

M'C——, St. J——, and P——, whom I mentioned ■ your
 Lordship ■ frequenting No. 151, Drury Lane, ■ I ■ in-
 formed, on the point of setting ■ from London for ■ place.

¹ Mr. Wickham here makes a long quotation from O'Neill's Memorial,
 which, as the Memorial ■ hereafter given entire, it would be superfluous
 ■ ■ ■ ■

One D——, O——, who murdered Pentland, the Revenue officer, at Drogheda, a man much known by Mr. Beresford, I understand, is now here.

One O'R——, an Irishman, lately arrived here from Copenhagen, is just setting out for Paris.

February 11

Certain accounts have been received from France that the Directory have sent orders to Brest for the equipment of twenty-four ships of war. The number of ships of the line is not specified.

I am informed that Mr. Smith, who acted as a general officer in the rebel army at Ballynahinch, and for whom a reward was offered by his Majesty's Government, is now in Liverpool, where, I am told, he is concealed by H—— and Q——, Irish woollen-drappers, settled in Pool Lane, Liverpool, to whom, I understand, that Irish Rebels usually address themselves for assistance on their arrival in that town. G—— and B——, two Irishmen, I have also frequently mentioned, and who by the name of Gordon, are said to be on the point of returning to Ireland.

February 12

O'R——, whom I mentioned in a former despatch, is lately in Paris.

There is here Mr. S——, an Irishman, a friend of Duckett. He will shortly set out for Ireland, or, perhaps, is already gone, from whence he is to correspond with Duckett. He is about thirty years of age, five feet eight inches high, very thin, delicate complexion, and at present a red curled wig.

Since writing the above, I am informed that O'R—— is in Amsterdam, with a cousin of O'Connor, and a relation of General Kilmaine. O'R——, I am told, writes word, they hope to set out soon with the expedition which is preparing at Texel for Ireland.

One M'Carthy, captain of an American trading vessel

here, is, I understand, to set [redacted] to-day [redacted] London. He [redacted] ship here. He has been represented to me as an acquaintance of some of the Rebel Irish now here.

[redacted] d'une Lettre de Brême.

On est très occupé à mettre la flotte en état de même qu'à rassembler les troupes destinées à être embarquées. Elles [redacted] sistent en sept bataillons d'infanterie, qui devoient [redacted] plétés par les deux [redacted] bataillons de leur demi-brigade, et deux bataillons de chasseurs. Je ne suis pas encore [redacted] de [redacted] force [redacted] corps d'artillerie [redacted] [redacted] cavalerie, qui doivent [redacted] être embarquées. Quelques ingénieurs seront aussi [redacted] voyage. Dasdels [redacted] le commandement de [redacted] troupes, fort contre son gré, mais le général François, qui est lassé [redacted] lui, insiste là-dessus. Le [redacted] [redacted] apprendra si l'on [redacted] risquer [redacted] sortir la flotte attendu que [redacted] mécontentement qui y règne [redacted] même que partout ailleurs n'est point [redacted] secret.

Vous aurez vu dans les gazettes le plan d'organisation [redacted] bourgeoises. Les François veulent que [redacted] plan soit mis [redacted] exécution sur-le-champ, parcequ'ils ont exigé qu'on rendit mobile un corps de quelques milliers d'hommes, [redacted] bien qu'on leur payât cinquante millions. On [redacted] consenti à la première de [redacted] réquisitions [redacted] [redacted] de l'impossibilité [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] seconde. La désertion parmi les troupes [redacted] incroyable. On [redacted] déjà obligé d'employer des bourgeois, pour s'y opposer [redacted] [redacted] camper. Une compagnie entière de grenadiers [redacted] aux arrêts, [redacted] voulant absolument [redacted] se laisser embarquer. Il [redacted] [redacted] même [redacted] dragons, qui sont de [redacted] plus mauvaise volonté, [redacted] qu'on garde [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] d'une Lettre de Brême.

D'après [redacted] [redacted] informations qu'on reçoit [redacted] l'intérieur, [redacted] [redacted] peut plus [redacted] de doute que l'ordre ne soit donné de

faire sortir la flotte au premier bon vent, et, vu le nombre de troupes qu'elle a abord, le projet d'entreprendre quelque descente sur la côte d'Irlande. Il paroît également que dans lequel on trouve la ligne de défense de l'Yssel commencé donner inquiétudes mensura, puisque l'on vient de nommer une commission pour inspecter la frontière et régler ce qui pourroit manquer, et améliorer pour la défense : le la suite des remontrances sérieuses du Général Brune sur l'état négligé où se trouve la défense du pays. Il est également qu'on consentit que les troupes françoises aujourd'hui en Hollande fussent augmentées de 25,000 hommes, au même pied que celles qui s'y trouvent.

TRANSLATION.

Extract of a Letter from Bremen.

February 12.

They are very busily engaged in getting the fleet ready, and likewise collecting the troops destined to be embarked. They consist of seven battalions of infantry, which are to be completed by the two other battalions of their demi-brigade, and two battalions of chasseurs. I am not yet informed of the strength of the corps of artillery and cavalry which are likewise to be embarked. Some engineers will accompany them. Daendels will have the command of these troops, very much against his inclination; but, the French general, who is tired of him, insists on that point. Time will show whether the Government will dare venture to send off the fleet, while the discontent which prevails in it and everywhere else is no secret.

You will have seen in the newspapers the plan of the organization of the burghers. The French insist that this plan be put into execution immediately, because they have required that a corps of several thousand men shall be rendered mobile, or that fifty millions be paid them. The first of these requisitions has been assented to, on account of the impossibility of complying with the second. The desertion among the troops is incredible. It has already been found necessary to employ the burghers to oppose it, and to encamp. A whole company of grenadiers is under arrest, having absolutely refused to embark. The same is the case with the dragoons, who are in the worst disposition, and are closely watched.

Extract of a Letter from Bremen.

February 22.

According to all the information that we receive from the interior, there cannot be any doubt that orders have been given for the sailing of the fleet with the first fair wind; and, from the number of troops which it has on board, the design must be to effect some landing on the coast of Ireland. ■ appears, likewise, that the state of defence in which the line of the Xeel now is excites some uneasiness in the leaders, because a commission has just been appointed to inspect that frontier, and to settle what is wanting and what improvements may be made for its defence: the whole in consequence of the serious remonstrances of General Brune on the present neglected state of the defence of the country. He has, likewise, insisted that the Government should consent to increase the French troops in Holland by 24,000 men, on the same footing as those which are now there.

Secret Information respecting Captain Bosch.

According to accounts, Captain Bosch is to have the command of the fleet, which is now in great forwardness at the Texel, and the destination of which is generally supposed ■ be Ireland. That officer served in the navy under the former Government. He is said to be a prisoner of ■ ■ his parole (a fact which may be easily ascertained); and, having obtained leave ■ months ago to leave this country and to proceed to the Continent, he promised to return immediately on being recalled. According to authentic information, ■ has expressed himself (during his last stay in London) on the subject of Ireland in a very improper and suspicious manner, repeatedly declaring that, notwithstanding ■ the ■ which Govern- ■ ■ taking, that country would ■ and infallibly ■ revolutionised. It ■ worthy of remark, that the aforesaid Captain Bosch ■ married to the daughter of a person of the ■ ■ Jameson, who lives ■ Cork, where he ■ commissary ■ agent of the Dutch trade and navy under the former Government, ■ where ■ ■ not impossible that the ■ person may

now fill, under the authority of the [REDACTED] Government, similar functions to those with which the house of Evers and Vandyke, in London, is entrusted by that Government. Captain Bosch [REDACTED] supposed to have been in Ireland from the time he was taken [REDACTED] detained in 1795, till the time he went to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] of Dennis O'Neill, of Enniscorthy, [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] Insurgents during the late attempt for the recovery of liberty [REDACTED] Ireland, transmitted to [REDACTED] French Government through their minister at Paris.

Hamburg, January 30, 1799.

Memorialist, having been a long time member of the Society of United Irish, joined the Insurgents on their first taking [REDACTED] arms [REDACTED] Enniscorthy, where he had been appointed Colonel, was [REDACTED] the battles of New Boss, Newtownberry, Arklow, Corrughroo, and Vinegar Hill. Thence he accompanied Father Murphy¹ through the County of Kilkenny in various skir-

¹ This was Father John Murphy, one of the most sanguinary of the [REDACTED] of the rebellion in the County of Wexford. He was the son of a petty farmer at Tinourry, in the parish of Ferns; and, after receiving instruction at a hedge-school, seems to have pursued his studies at Seville, in Spain, where he received holy orders in 1785. He furnished a striking instance of the fruit to be derived from education for the priesthood in Jesuits' colleges.

He was one of a number of priests in the County of Wexford, who, in the month of April, 1798, signed for themselves and their parishes [REDACTED] following address to the Lord-Lieutenant, Earl Camden:—"We, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of [REDACTED], in the barony of [REDACTED], and County of Wexford, do think [REDACTED] our duty to come forward at this crisis of internal disturbance, thus publicly to declare our unalterable attachment to his Majesty King George the Third; and we do hereby declare, and in the most solemn manner pledge ourselves to support with our lives, fortunes, and influence, [REDACTED] Majesty's happy Government [REDACTED] amongst us, determined as we are to exert ourselves for the suppression of rebellion and sedition. And we do likewise solemnly pledge ourselves, should any person attempt to disseminate amongst us seditious or levelling principles, all of which we hold in the utmost abhorrence, that we will

mishes, and in the three [redacted] actions of New Bridge, Castle Corner, and [redacted] the borders of Wexford [redacted] Kilkenny, [redacted] [redacted] those of Carnew [redacted] Hackestown; became acquainted [redacted] Holt in Wicklow, and engaged in the battles

use our utmost endeavours in bringing such miscreants to condign punish- [redacted] And we do further assure all our Protestant brethren of our sincere affection for them, and our absolute determination to co-operate with them in every means in our power for the support of this happy constitution, the suppression of rebellion, the welfare of his Majesty's Government, and in love and loyalty to his sacred person." This address was signed by John Murphy, curate, for himself and [redacted] of the inhabitants of Kilcormick, [redacted] the chapel of Bonnavogue, on Monday, April 9th, and, according to his own journal, which he dropped in his retreat from Vinegar Hill, and which was picked up by Captain Hugh Moore of the 5th Dragoons on the 29th of the following month, he commenced the insurrection with fire, blood, and devastation.

The journal just mentioned is a very curious document:—

"Saturday Night, May 26, [redacted] 6 A.M., 1799.

"Began the Republic of Ireland in Bonnavogue, in the County of Wexford, barony of Gorey, and parish of Kilcormick, commanded by the Rev. Doctor Murphy, parish priest of the said parish, in the aforesaid parish, when all the Protestants of that parish were disarmed, and amongst the aforesaid a bigot named Thomas Bookley, who lost his life by his rashness.

"26. From thence [redacted] to Oulart, a country village adjoining, when the Republic attacked a minister's house for arms, and was denied of; laid siege immediately to it, and killed him and all his forces. The same day burned his house, and all the Orangemen's houses in that and all the adjoining parishes in that part of the country.

"The same day, a part of the army, to the amount [redacted] 104 of infantry and two troops of cavalry, attacked the Republic on Oulart Hill, when the military were repulsed with the loss of [redacted] men, and the Republic four killed, and then went to a hill called Carrigrua, where the Republic encamped that night, and from thence went to a town called Camolin, which was taken without resistance, and the same day took another town and *sate* of a bishop.* [redacted] three in the afternoon, the same day, they laid siege to Ennisecurry, where they were opposed by an army of 700 [redacted] then they were forced to set both ends [redacted] the town on fire,

* *Meaning Feroe.*

of the Seven Churches, Devil's Glynn, and Glynn of Downs : from that he penetrated into Kildare, the Bog of Allen, and Counties Dublin and Meath, with a body of the Insurgents, for the purpose of raising people in those parts. Having

and then they took the town in the space of one hour, and then encamped on a hill near the town, called Vinegar Hill, where they remained that night.

"BRYAN BULGER."*

"Orangemen are men that formed alliances to kill and destroy all the Catholics in the kingdom.

"GARRET LACET."

"28th. At the afternoon, which was Whitsun-Monday, they marched towards Wexford, and encamped on a hill that night called the Mountain."

The details of the atrocities committed by this man and his followers, as fully substantiated by legal evidence given in the Appendix to Sir Richard Musgrave's History, are many of them terribly affecting. Whealey, farmer, of Drinny, in the parish of Kilcornusk, related upon oath, at his examination in Dublin in the following September, that early on the morning of Whitsunday, John Murphy, after burning many Protestant houses in the neighbourhood, attacked that of the Rev. Mr. Burrowes, a Protestant clergyman, and that, soon after, he saw the house on fire; that Murphy proceeded in his destructive progress, burning the houses of Protestants, until he arrived at the hill of Oulart, where he encamped with a numerous body of rebels, and where he was joined by one Edward Roche, of Garrylough, attended also by a considerable body of rebels. Having been informed that they meant to burn his house in the night of Whitsunday, Whealey ordered his family to take out the furniture, which they did; and the same night, as soon as it grew dark, the rebels, headed by Murphy and Roche, went to his house and burned it. While it was burning, he lay in a ditch so close to the house, that he could scarcely endure the heat. The rebels carried off or destroyed the whole of his furniture except one bed-tick. Next day, a great body of them went in quest of examination, in order to put him to death, but that he lay concealed in ditches, at Drinny. Two or three days after the burning of his house, his two daughters dug a hole in the bawn of the house, and, having laid some oak planks upon it, and covered them with

* Thus far supposed to have been written by one Bulger, who accompanied Father Murphy as aide-de-camp.

arrived ■■■ the River Boyne, ■■■ finding ■■■ number ■■■ upwards of 40,000 ■■■ they resolved on attacking Dublin. Some disagreement taking place among the leaders, the scheme was given up, when they were surprised by the

straw, and afterwards with the ashes of the burned building, he lay concealed in that hole for about one month, being supplied during that time with food by his wife and daughters, but in the night only, lest ■■■ should be discovered. During his concealment, the rebels came often, and examined the ruins of the house and the neighbouring fields and ditches in search of him, declaring, at the same time, that they would put him to death, and often saying, during their search, that he was a bloody Orangeman, though he never saw an Orangeman, nor knew what they meant by that appellation, except that he has been universally informed that they meant Protestant by the word Orangeman. He added that, one day, when they went to the ruins of his house, they knocked down his son, only nine years of age, with the but-end of a firelock, because he refused to tell them where his father was concealed, and at three different times, they placed the boy on his knees, declaring that they would shoot him, unless he revealed the place, but he persisted to the last in declaring his ignorance of it. During his confinement at Drinay, a great number of Protestants were shot or killed with pikes in the environs of his house, while flying from the merciless rage of the rebels. When the King's troops were victorious at Vinegar Hill, his daughters called to his assistance three of the Ancient Britons, who conveyed him to Oulart, on horseback, for he was unable to walk, having had a bad fever from his confinement, and he was afterwards conveyed by his two sons to Gorey, where Mr. Peppard gave him a small house, as his own at Drinay and all his property were destroyed.

The Rev. Mr. Burrowes, mentioned in the preceding examination, having arms and ammunition for eight or nine persons, resolved, with his household, to defend the place to the last extremity. The rebels, three or four hundred in number, meeting with a warm reception, set fire to a long range of outhouses adjoining to the dwelling-house, and communicated the flames to the latter. After a stout defence of half an hour, Murphy the priest promised protection to Mr. Burrowes if he would agree to surrender his arms. Leaving the house, where it was impossible to remain any longer on account of the fire, Mr. Burrowes went forth, delivered the arms, and was immediately barbarously attacked and murdered, while his son was extended, by a stab of a pike, apparently dead by the side of his father. The house, with furniture and everything of

Royalists, and totally ■■■■. A Proclamation, offering par-
 ■■■■ all ■■■■ privates being at this time issued, the insurgents
 returned to their respective counties to take the benefit of the
 amnesty, or formed into ■■■■ parties of banditti. Memo-
 rialist, being an officer, was proclaimed, and a reward held out
 for his apprehension, consequently obliged ■■■■ keep concealed
 ■■■■ opportunity of quitting the kingdom occurred. ■■■■
 did ■■■■ place ■■■■ the 2nd of December, ■■■■ time ■■■■
 people ■■■■ become ■■■■ united than ■■■■. The Catholics ■■■■
 ■■■■ imprudence of separating from the Protestants, which
 they looked ■■■■ as the ■■■■ of all their disasters. A new
 choice of officers had been made, and ■■■■ appointed ■■■■ such
 ■■■■ showed ability and courage during the insurrection. They
 have the ■■■■ part of the arms left by General Humbert ■■■■
 Killala, and immense quantities of pikes ; are better organized,
 and more eager in the glorious cause of freedom than they ever
 have been. There ■■■■ many instances of persons at the time
 of the insurrection most violent aristocrats, who with difficulty
 saved their own lives, lost their properties, and had their
 friends and relations put to ■■■■ by the patriots, that have
 now espoused the side of the United, and ■■■■ ready on the
 ■■■■ opportunity to support the banners of liberty ; but ■■■■
 owing to the infamous conduct of the Government, where
 everything ■■■■ managed by jobbing, bribery, and intrigue. It
 was the general wish to make a second attempt, but to wait
 some time ■■■■ assistance from the great nation, which they
 fondly hoped would be sent, notwithstanding the recent melan-
 choly events. Such ■■■■ the present situation of Ireland, ■■■■ I
 pledge myself ■■■■ the authenticity of the fact.

(Signed) DENNIS O'NEILL.

value that it contained, was utterly destroyed, and his family reduced to
 the lowest indigence ; and the son, being picked up alive, never recovered
 from the effects of that wound, of which he died in 1809. Seven of
 Mr. Burrowes's party were butchered on this occasion.

Mr. [redacted] to Lord Castlereagh.

[redacted]

Whitehall, [redacted] 24, [redacted]

My [redacted] Lord—Among the persons apprehended [redacted] the Division, No. 2, of United Irishmen, is one Beedal M'Kensia, [redacted] M'Kinley (the latter [redacted] believe to be the true name), a description of whose person I send enclosed. [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] a native of Belfast, and to have been concerned very actively in the Rebellion: he has been principally concerned in organizing [redacted] United Irishmen here, and [redacted] pushing them into [redacted] desperate undertaking.

[redacted] of Portland [redacted] me to request your Lordship [redacted] lay [redacted] information before the Lord-Lieutenant, [redacted] submit to his Excellency the propriety of sending over some one to identify M'Kinley, should it appear on inquiry that any person of that [redacted] and description [redacted] been concerned in the Rebellion.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Beedal M'Kensie, 24 years of age, 5 feet 6 inches, black hair, inclining to curl, black eyes, crooked nose, florid [redacted] plexion, black whiskers, high forehead, a coach-painter [redacted] Mr. Lucas, in the Edgeware Road, and lodges at No. 58, Davies Street, Berkeley Square.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, [redacted] 25, [redacted]

My dear Lord—I beg leave to acknowledge your Lordship's private letter of [redacted] 19th instant, which I showed [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] Friday, as [redacted] as I had received it. He promised to write [redacted] your Lordship [redacted] very day, on the subject of the Loan, and on everything connected with it; [redacted] that I [redacted] not fatigue your Lordship by repeating [redacted] you what [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

I [redacted] [redacted] more notice of another subject of your Lordship's letter, viz., the Regency Bill, because you will before [redacted] have

received from the Duke of Portland the full opinion of the Cabinet upon that question and the mode of treating Parliament.

I believe that, before this time, the prisoners from Dublin will have been safely conducted to Fort George. No particular instructions either to the expense of their maintenance, of confining them, have yet been transmitted to the Governor; but it is wished that your Lordship would have the goodness to communicate to me, for the Duke of Portland's information, the regulations under which they were confined in Dublin, and particularly the allowance they received from Government, according to their respective situations and conditions in life, that which was paid them their account to the gaoler.

Should any prisoners be sent to Scotland, have the goodness to take care that the Duke of Portland be informed of their names in time to send word down to them the port where they shall be disembarked in Scotland. Some apprehension is entertained lest a habeas corpus should be moved for the two persons who have been sent over, in the place of Deane Swift and John Cormick, before their arrival at Fort George. I think, however, this can never happen. Messengers should refuse to take charge of them as not being named in their original warrant, which I scarcely conceive probable. The warrant for their detention at Fort George will probably arrive in time. It is the present intention that they should be brought into Parliament immediately at the recess, confirming what has been done, and authorising the detention of these gentlemen and of others whom you may send. At any other moment, a Bill of that kind might have and perhaps ought to have met with opposition; but I rather think there will be an unwillingness on the part of Opposition to bring the name of Arthur O'Connor into question.

All the correspondence relating to the negotiation with the

State prisoners has been put together, and the whole has been well read [redacted] studied by Mr. Pitt, who will probably take this occasion of saying something on the infamous charges [redacted] have been brought against the Irish Government of having broken their faith, &c., which O'Connor [redacted] [redacted] great pains to circulate among his friends here, and which, for the sake of better intentioned persons, it may be [redacted] well [redacted] refute openly [redacted] for all.

I am anxious [redacted] know what will be the result of the Prussian mission to Dublin. I have been obliged to send an interpreter with [redacted] officer, [redacted] he [redacted] neither speak French nor English.

Believe me, ever, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

Whitehall, [redacted] 26, [redacted]

My dear Lord—I send your Lordship enclosed [redacted] copy of the letter from Doyle, that was found under the table [redacted] the Division of United Irishmen, No. 2. I should be curious to know whether the Address to the Irish Nation, found at the same place and printed in the Report of the Secret Committee, [redacted] known in Ireland, and in general circulation there. It is stated to have been brought over by Doyle.

Enclosed I send your Lordship a list of [redacted] found on the table, supposed to be the names of the Secretaries of the Divisions. These Divisions had [redacted] general Committee composed of the Secretary and Treasurer of each Division, and from [redacted] Committee three persons were chosen to [redacted] with Doyle, [redacted] amine the proposals he brought over, and report them [redacted] the Committee, without mentioning any [redacted] [redacted] these three [redacted] are already in custody, and, the third being aware that there [redacted] [redacted] warrant out against him, has [redacted] privately for [redacted] and made a full avowal of all that [redacted] knew, promising [redacted] services in future.

It appears, as well from the testimony of this man as from the cipher, of the key to which we are in possession, that Doyle's instructions were given to him by one Henry Beard, concerning whom I have already written to your Lordship. I further stated that Beard was only the instrument, and that he received them from the Directory at Dublin, with whom it was expressly ordered by Doyle that the State prisoners communicated.

The proposals brought forward by Doyle that the United Irishmen should rise, even with the certainty of being defeated, the moment the French should land in Ireland; that individuals of the Society should be trained to the purpose of assassination; that, if they should not be strong enough to effect a rising, the life of the King or Mr. Pitt should be taken at the moment when such an attempt might produce the greatest mischief and confusion.

I remain, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Letter from Thomas Doyle to Division No. 2 of United Irishmen, taken at the Royal Oak, March 10, 1799.

To No. 2.

I have to lament the malignant and malicious propagations of lies of my countrymen, whom I cannot conceive from what motive or reason they should exert themselves in so mysterious manner to destroy my character among men, whose principles and society I have preferred since my introduction among them. At the same time, they are confident of the virtue of my principles, in consequence of their being put to the test by several weeks' imprisonment on a charge of "treasonable practices." If, after this and the present persecutions, I am treated with cool indifference and neglect, it is very hard: the reflection of which to me is more severe than the idea of punishment in the prison. However, I will once more submit to the enlightened and generous understanding of my

countrymen whether they think me culpable in the in-
sidious reports propagated probably by envy, and you
an improper idea bolt into your minds respecting my
attachment to you. I must observe, the time I was with
you, it seemed me if whole of you was completely
incensed against me, every one starting up to accuse, for
what?—why, truly, that such a person you so
so. I not occupy your time with these vague argu-
ments; your attention at present should, I hope will be
directed to a greater object, that is the subject of *organization*,
which occupies Europe. I am conscious I have done my duty
by you, and ready to render you any general service my
slender abilities capable of. I expect you will give orders
to your Representatives to vote me the trifling you allow
persons that stands in the predicament I do present. Your
compliance noncompliance of last request will be ac-
cepted of, worthy cite, by your sincere and devoted, &c.

*Copy of a Paper found on Sunday, March 10, at Division No. 2 of
United Irishmen, held at the Royal Oak, Red Lion Passage.*

1. Mooney	18. Delap	35. [redacted]	54. Bandfield
2. [redacted]	19. Brown	36. [redacted]	55. [redacted]
3. Corcoran	20. Calahan	37. Healey	56. Keating
4. [redacted]	21. Murphy	38. Griffith	57. Whitney
5. [redacted]	22. Kennedy	39. Sullivan	58. McKussey
6. [redacted]	23. Cronan	40. [redacted]	59. Egan
7. [redacted]	24. [redacted]	41. [redacted]	60. [redacted]
8. Kelly	25. Sweeney	42. Carey	61. Higgins
9. [redacted]	26. Hammond	43. Kelly	62. [redacted]
10. Corcoran	27. [redacted]	44. Correy	63. Kennedy
11. [redacted]	28. Coleman	45. [redacted]	64. Grey
12. Corregan	29. [redacted]	46. Kelley	65. Lyon
13. Lynch	30. Anderson	47. [redacted]	66. Boyle
14. Walker	31. [redacted]	48. Neagle	67. Dea
15. [redacted]	32. [redacted]	49. O'Shaughnessy	68. Tunnigen
16. [redacted]	33. [redacted]	50. [redacted]	69. Bury
17. [redacted]	34. Leary	51. James	70. Boylan

Lord Castlereagh [REDACTED] Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, March 27, 1799.

My Lord—Feeling the advantage of your Grace's suggestion, [REDACTED] possible by [REDACTED] adjournment to avoid any further discussion, which might disturb the present temper of Parliament, I have made every exertion to get the business pushed forward [REDACTED] expeditiously [REDACTED] possible. Notwithstanding [REDACTED] Parliament [REDACTED] continued sitting during the holidays, the [REDACTED] will [REDACTED] [REDACTED] passed the Commons [REDACTED] than the [REDACTED] 6th of April; they [REDACTED] [REDACTED] returned from the Lords (such of them [REDACTED] Money Bills) before the 10th, which is the day named for taking the Regency Bill into consideration: under these circumstances, [REDACTED] cannot with any grace avoid the discussion of the measure. [REDACTED] do not observe much disposition to warmth amongst our opponents, and am induced to believe that the Speaker, if he does speak, will not [REDACTED] a very lofty tone.

As far [REDACTED] I have yet been informed of the proceedings at the several assizes, they have been much less unfavourable on the question of Union than we had any right to expect. The question has been stirred in but few counties. The grand juries of Meath and Cavan [REDACTED] the only two that have [REDACTED] [REDACTED] resolutions against the measure. In Tipperary, which is a leading county, from its extent, the party favourable [REDACTED] the measure has prevailed. I have the honour to enclose, for your Grace's information, Lord Donoughmore's¹ letter [REDACTED] this subject. Upon [REDACTED] whole, I consider the general silence of [REDACTED] grand juries as a very favourable indication. It [REDACTED] [REDACTED] thought prudent [REDACTED] urge [REDACTED] friends in the several counties [REDACTED] a [REDACTED] of their strength on [REDACTED] present occasion. Our arrangements may be better prepared before the autumn Circuit;

¹ Richard Hely, first Baron Donoughmore: in 1797 he had been [REDACTED] Viscount [REDACTED] [REDACTED] was a Lieutenant-General [REDACTED] [REDACTED], Governor of Tipperary, and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in the Irish Court of Exchequer.

I do [REDACTED] despair of operating most powerfully [REDACTED] the public mind in the mean time, by the diligent circulation of the many able arguments which [REDACTED] [REDACTED] on your side of the [REDACTED] have furnished us with. Arrangements have been [REDACTED] for [REDACTED] extensive [REDACTED] general distribution of [REDACTED] valuable productions, and I [REDACTED] happy to learn [REDACTED] they are [REDACTED] with avidity even in [REDACTED].

I am happy to inform your Grace (perhaps [REDACTED] is a tolerable indication [REDACTED] which side the strength [REDACTED] likely ultimately to lie) [REDACTED] Lord Ely [REDACTED] declared positively for the Union. The alteration intended in the plan for the representation [REDACTED] [REDACTED] weight, no doubt, with [REDACTED] Lordship. I cannot but [REDACTED] sider [REDACTED] determination, taken [REDACTED] the present moment, as a very favourable omen, and extremely important, notwithstanding it [REDACTED] clogged with some awkwardness. He has brought into Parliament [REDACTED] Mr. Shaw and Mr. Luttrell. Lord Ely says that neither shall vote against us, and promises, if possible, to get rid of Mr. Shaw. I should hope the Lord-Lieutenant might succeed in persuading Lord Carhampton that his son [REDACTED] not sufficiently considered the question: at present, his Lordship's efficient force [REDACTED] reduced [REDACTED] six.

I should submit to your Grace, whether it might [REDACTED] be advantageous that Lord Downshire should [REDACTED] early apprised of the scheme of representation at present in the contemplation of Ministers. It might, perhaps, tend [REDACTED] reconcile him. His declaration in favour of the [REDACTED] would have the most powerful influence. I also beg leave to suggest that Lord Donegal is an object of considerable importance. He [REDACTED] as yet unpledged, but, as I [REDACTED] informed, rather adverse. His friends [REDACTED] Parliament, during his father's life-time, voted against [REDACTED] Lord Leitrim [REDACTED] not well satisfied with the part his son took in his absence, and well disposed to avail himself of a change of circumstances, to prevail [REDACTED] his [REDACTED] alter [REDACTED] conduct.

Without troubling your Grace at present with details, I merely add that I by no means despair of the measure being accomplished, even without having to a dissolution.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, 28, 1799.

My dear Lord—I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship that we have secured M. Jägerhorn, who is coming over here on a mission similar to that which he undertook some two years since, when he met Lord Edward Fitzgerald in London. As soon as he shall have been examined, I will take care to inform your Lordship of anything material that may be collected from him.

Believe me ever, &c.,

W. WICKHAM.

Henry Alexander to Lord Castlereagh.

28, 1799.

My dear Lord—The report of the English Secret Committee has produced here a great shock. It has created, however, in my mind, an apprehension that the popular panic will be succeeded by popular fury, and that the English mob will adopt a kind of persecution against the Irish in England, and unpleasant reactions in Ireland may flow to augment the rent of national pride and vulgar animosities. Here everything more prosperous than could be expected by the sanguine mind. Even last week, cloth and yarn have risen very considerably; and I really have not a single day or two I have been here, who objects to a Union on any other principle than thinking themselves so well off, their situation so improvable by any Legislature, however composed.

I send up to Knox various parcels of American newspapers, [redacted] purpose of making extracts.

Mr. Robert Moore, of Londonderry, commenced a preacher [redacted] in America, [redacted] the Roman Catholic Chapel, in [redacted] nection with Reynolda. On being interrupted by some of the Americans, they produced pistols which [redacted] wrenched from them, and they [redacted] well thrashed and thrown into gaol, probably consigned to hard labour for life.

All letters from America tend to show their Anti-Gallican principles. The hatred of the American captains to that nation [redacted] extreme, and the Scriptural solemnity of their [redacted] pression gives a quaintness, that catches the attention of [redacted] people. Such passengers [redacted] have returned are full of stories of French plunder, and I believe they extenuate nothing.

One torn American paper I enclose to you for Knox, to communicate instantly to the public. I will have it inserted in the next Londonderry papers.

Our Grand Jury have 18 Unionists to 5 Anti-Unionists, and to-morrow I shall be able to decide how far they will speak out.

Yours [redacted] sincerely,

HENRY ALEXANDER.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Pitt.

Dublin Castle, [redacted] 1799.

My dear Sir—I am sorry it [redacted] not in my power to communicate with you earlier, and [redacted] in detail on the money business of this country; but Mr. Corry [redacted] not enabled before the [redacted] of this month to ascertain from the moneyed [redacted] with any precision, what Loan might [redacted] obtained in [redacted] market. The moment I received his suggestions, I lost no time in transmitting them through Mr. Rose for your consideration, with such hasty observations [redacted] I [redacted] enabled [redacted] before the departure of the mail. I am induced again [redacted] trouble you [redacted] subject, [redacted] so much [redacted] feeling that I

can anything material, point of information, to what has been said by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but from anxiety you should distinctly understand why the demands hence are so much beyond what you were taught to expect by Sir John Parnell.

In the provision for 1798, Sir John reckoned upon the Quit Rents producing a million, and relied upon being sold within the year, and advanced upon by the Bank, both which expectations he was completely disappointed. Relying upon this resource, his application to you for a loan was moderate; but the difficulty was not the less to occur before the end of the year, and, in part, to be upon Great Britain. The million was required for the service of the year, and was obtained, one half by anticipation of the sum intended by you as a provision for the current year; the other half by an advance from the Bank on last year's Vote of Credit, repayment of which was limited to six months from December last; so that, in the present year, the money advanced by England for the service of the country was, in fact, two millions and a half.

I believe it was in December last Sir John Parnell stated to you that the Irish Government would require only two millions from Great Britain for the ensuing year, by which I conclude he meant that that sum would be sufficient to carry on the public service till the end of March, 1800, the usual period to which the Supplies were voted. From the nature of the above sum, I was inclined to think the calculation was formed upon a view of the usual establishment merely, and that he did not advert either to the deficiency of a million in the means of the former year, or to the extraordinary charge of another million for the British and Loyalists; if he had, he would have increased his wants to double amount. £500,000 had been already remitted to Ireland, and three millions and a half are required by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be the requisite sum of the loan of two mil-

lions to be raised in this kingdom. This provision, among other charges, [redacted] to cover repayments to [redacted] made to the Bank, in [redacted] of the year, to the [redacted] of £700,000.

The Bank, upon the condition [redacted] in their correspondence with Mr. Pelham, (which [redacted] with you when in London) are willing to advance a million to Government. Should their proposal [redacted] with your approbation, [redacted] upon you would [redacted] reduced to two millions and a half. Should their application [redacted] deemed objectionable, we may possibly prevail [redacted] them to continue to us what is [redacted] outstanding; but I cannot indulge much expectation of a further advance. In truth, [redacted] the expenditure of [redacted] year been adequately provided [redacted] by loan, the only new demand which Mr. Corry would have called on you to assist him in providing for, would have been for the British [redacted] and Loyalists. There [redacted] a general increase upon all the usual Military Estimates to the amount of £700,000; but [redacted] covered by the Irish Loan being increased in its amount from £1,300,000 to £2,000,000.

Having mentioned the [redacted] Militia and Loyalists, I shall shortly trouble you with an explanation of the nature and [redacted] of those heads of expence.

It is difficult for us precisely [redacted] estimate the charge for the British troops serving in Ireland. Their numbers must be fluctuating, and their stay uncertain. The present force, including the Guards and the regiments of the Line (the latter, though lately placed on this establishment, being an addition [redacted] the estimate [redacted] voted [redacted] provided for by Parliament) [redacted] 15,000 [redacted]. The estimate for the year, made upon the [redacted] of their establishments as complete, amounts [redacted] £666,000, as the regiments are by [redacted] full. I [redacted] oeive the above [redacted] sufficient [redacted] the five quarters from the [redacted] December, including [redacted] incidental expence [redacted] needed with that force, in [redacted] to the [redacted] to be repaid to [redacted] Britain.

[redacted] number [redacted] the Loyalists whose claims have been given

in ■ above 8,500; ■■■■ amount about £600,000. The Commission appointed by the Bill of last year has been found very inadequate to ■■■■ investigation of these claims within ■■■■ time. ■ ■ proposed, therefore, to make such changes in it ■ ■■ complete the inquiry in the course of the year. ■ is intended that a reduction on each claim, proportioned to ■■■■ amount, should ultimately be made, ■ was done in ■■■■ case of ■■■■ American Loyalists, and that such proportion of the damage should ■■■■ upon the county in which ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ be borne by the inhabitants without serious inconvenience; the rest to be paid by the State.

As these proportions cannot be adjusted ■■■■ the inquiry ■■■■ completed, and as the claimants ■■■■ in general in the utmost distress, it is proposed to make a partial liquidation of the claims as speedily ■■■■ they are examined and certified by the Commissioners; the claimants for sums under £500 to receive one-third, which will leave an ample latitude for such reduction as may be finally determined ■■■■ To effect this, with some further demands ■■■■ account of damage done by our ■■■■ army when in the field, will probably require, in the course of the year, from £250,000 to £300,000, issuable in proportion as the claims ■■■■ disposed of.

You would be confined to the Militia and Loyalists relying upon your ability, without any previously assured provision to ■■■■ ■■■■ relief, in the event of rebellion or invasion making ■■■■ necessary for the army to take the field, and for a greater proportion than ■■■■ eighth of the Yeomanry, the number now estimated and provided for and actually serving, to ■■■■ placed on permanent duty.

I ■■■■ you will be able, from the above statement, to ■■■■ the ■■■■ of our wants, and the probable ■■■■ we have of providing for them. Whatever relief you think fit to give us, you may rely ■■■■ ■■■■ best endeavours to make it answer, as ■■■■ as circumstances will permit, for carrying ■■■■ the public service.

The Right Hon. G. Ross to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

Old Palace Yard, Sunday, March 31, 1799.

My dear Lord—I lost some time this morning, after the receipt of your letter, in communicating it, and the enclosure from Mr. Corry, to Mr. Pitt; he will either write himself on Tuesday, or authorize some one to do so. In the mean time, I have no hesitation in promising to your Lordship that I am sure the inclination of his opinion is that it would be impossible for him to propose a loan here for the money Ireland wants, when raising so very large a proportion of the supply here by a direct increase of income. Four millions is as much as we have permanently fund in this country; and I am persuaded that it would not be possible to reconcile a loan to that extent for the service of Ireland to our House of Commons, the Bank, or the moneyed men, unless it could be shown satisfactorily that the money could be had in no other way. Your only alternative would be a similar measure with the Income Tax, and on Tuesday (when I come to town) I will send you the explanatory one: you will find all the machinery in the first. You will only have to substitute persons for the Commissioners of the Land Tax; it will be to be considered whether they should be named in the Act, or appointed by the Lord-Lieutenant.

I write this in great haste: it may, however, be useful to give your Lordship, as well as the Lord-Lieutenant and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, an opportunity of considering the whole subject before you hear from Mr. Pitt.

I find that the Speaker persists in his declarations that the linen manufacture of Ireland has flourished greatly from the year 1779 of the Parliament of Ireland since 1779—can he show that it is owing to an export to any country but Great Britain? Her exports to the rest of the world are nearly equal to her own consumption. I think, then, even the most ingenuitv cannot show how that has been aided by the Legislature.

I am, &c.,

GEORGE ROSS.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

Whitehall, April 6,

My dear Lord—I have received your Lordship's letter of the instant, and am a thousand pardons for having your Lordship unnecessarily on the subject of prisoners. The Duke of Portland, as well as myself, having received frequent applications for instructions how gentlemen to be treated and confined at Fort George, having one of the gentlemen on that subject open before me, I am a few lines to your Lordship, to ask for advice and explanation, quite forgetting that I have already written to Mr. Cooke, from whom I have since received a very full and satisfactory answer.

The prisoners will be perfectly safe at Fort George, and I trust that measures will be taken to prevent them from having any improper communication either with each other or with any persons out of the prison. I shall be able to transmit your Lordship, in a very few days, the instructions that will be given to the Lieutenant-Governor for the regulation of his conduct.

As I am very much hurried to-day, and as the Duke of Portland is writing as well as your Lordship and the Lord-Lieutenant, I shall beg leave to defer answering the other parts of your Lordship's letter, as well as the other letters I have received at the same time, till Monday.

I am ever, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

[Redacted] Street, April 7, [Redacted] P.M.

My Lord—I have just instant received the enclosed letter for your Lordship from Mr. Pitt, with directions to be immediately by messenger.

I take this opportunity with pleasure of informing your Lordship that the Hamburg mail, arrived to-day, brings a full confirmation of the Archduke's success, as the [Redacted] There are letters of that date from Lindau, Ulm, Mem-

mingen, which give some details, speak of Jourdan having been in great danger, and of Lefevre being severely wounded. There other mentioned, which to leave the French having retreated a considerable distance, and of the Austrians themselves having the best hopes of further success—I mean, the Austrian magazines and the heavy baggage of the army being ordered to advance from Ulm and Memmingen to Phalendorf, and General Hotze having marched from Feldkirch to join the Archduke.

There is no distinct account of what had passed on General Hotze's later than the 17th, which day General Laudohn made a French general and hundred lay down their arms in Engadine: but it is certain that the same General had arrived at Feldkirch on the 21st, from which it is fairly to be presumed that he had cleared all the country behind him. General Hotze marched from Feldkirch the day, and entered Lindau the 22nd, meaning to push further on that night with thousand infantry.

There are letters from Strasburg of the 25th, and from Rastadt and Frankfort of the 27th, all of which speak of the French being much discouraged. Had the French recovered the check of the 23rd, as has been reported, surely must have been known on the 27th at Rastadt. General Suworoff was at Vienne the 25th.

I your Lordship enclosed a copy of the examination of M. Jägerhorn, and of the letters found upon him, which the Duke of Portland will thank your Lordship to communicate the Lord-Lieutenant.

I am ever, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

Holwood, Sunday, April 7,

My Lord—After fully considering the communications respecting sum wanting for Ireland, and particularly last letter of 29th, I wish to state to you all that occurs to

me on the subject (meaning, when I have done so, to adopt whatever Cornwallis judge, under all circumstances, to advisable). I need not dwell on the evident objection which must arise here to creating any large capital of permanent debt, transferable in market, of Ireland, when the country is making unusual exertions any accumulation of debt on account. The interest of the Irish loan indeed bring direct charge country, but the effect on the Funds and the state of credit, from the increase of Stock, is the same as if were a loan borrowed for ourselves. It does not, therefore, seem Ireland to for such assistance, till the exertions have been made there raising part of the supplies within the year, which have been fully adopted here. I should not think it fair, in the present year, to let this objection weigh (though strictly applicable in principle) against a loan to the amount originally intended two millions: but it impossible to overlook it when it is proposed to augment the loan four or to three millions. The first would produce a capital of near eight and the second of near six millions, which would probably not be extinguished by the Sinking Fund in less than forty years.

We have imposed a of per cent. upon Income, avoid the inconvenience, both present and future, which would arise from any such addition of debt. The motives which operate upon us seem to apply at least as forcibly to the case of Ireland. The ultimate saving by such a system will be in proportion. Here a difficulty felt in raising the whole sum wanted by loan; in Ireland impossible. The necessity for general exertion is there, if possible, stronger than here, the of income arising from land (which must bear a large proportion of the tax) are there untouched, while in general lower. Besides these considerations, which, argument, seem to me conclusive, I confess that, on reflecting the subject, I feel that great advantage would

adopting the measure I propose in the present session of leaving it to be brought forward another, as a consequence of the Union: it is evident that, when that event takes place, the tax on Income must, if the war continues, be extended to Ireland.

It must, I think, equally be extended another year, if the Union should take place; but, as there is now every reason to look forward to its accomplishment this Session, it is very desirable that this question should be previously discussed on its own grounds. I should, therefore, with the warmest wish that, if possible, this tax should be imposed before your Session concludes. I have but very imperfect means of guessing at its probable produce; but, on a rough comparison of the different articles of the estimate framed here, I think it could hardly be supposed to yield less than a million, or perhaps a million and a half. At all events, if the measure be fairly tried, we could have no difficulty in supplying what might be further wanting, or in making the necessary advances till the produce could be received. If the principle be adopted, little delay, I conceive, could arise in framing the Bill, which, in most part, would be a transcript from the regulations for settling the proportion of the tax, the description of Income and mode of valuing it, the exceptions and abatements, and the mode of collection and payment, all equally applicable to Ireland. The principal part would chiefly consist in the appointment of commissioners, surveyors, assessors, &c., which probably are descriptions unknown in Ireland, or, at least, not on the same footing as here. But on this point, I imagine, you would find no great difficulty in arranging. If, however, this subject should appear to you in a different view; and if, either from the importance of ending the Session without any delay, or from the state of political parties, Lord Cornwallis should judge the attempt hazardous, or attended with too material inconvenience, I am ready to go as far as possible in relieving you from any embarrassment.

In that case, I should hope the demand on us might still be confined to three millions in the whole (including the half million already anticipated), ■■■ further ■■■ wanting may be obtained from the Bank. I should also wish ■■■ some separate provision might ■■■ made for the speedy redemption of ■■■ capital created by the additional million, ■■■ perhaps might ■■■ by mortgaging to ■■■ the quit-rents which were ■■■ intended ■■■ have been sold, ■■■ might, in that ■■■ reserved till circumstances ■■■ more favourable ■■■ their sale. Above all, I should hope that, ■■■ supposition, it would be distinctly and generally understood ■■■ loan ■■■ likely ■■■ furnished by this country only in consequence of ■■■ pressing circumstances of the present moment; but that such an assistance can, in ■■■ case, be expected in another year, until Ireland has made exertions equal to those made here for raising ■■■ much of the Supplies ■■■ possible within the year. I need not say that it will be, in every view, much ■■■ satisfactory if you can adopt the suggestion in the former part of this letter, and Lord Cornwallis will, I am sure, give it ■■■ full and impartial consideration. If he thinks the objections ■■■ it too strong, I shall cheerfully acquiesce in the other alternative.

Believe me, my dear Lord,

Sincerely and faithfully yours,

W. PITT.

*Copy of a Letter from General Valence to ■■■ Jägerhorn,
referred to in the examination of the latter.*

J'ai retrouvé votre ami, ■■■ cher voisin. J'ai bien fait votre commission, et il part pour vous joindre. Je lui ai remis ce dont il a besoin, et malgré ce qu'il pourra vous dire, et ce qu'il falloit qu'il vous dise, *cela me regarde.*

Votre femme ■■■ porte bien : elle a soutenu avec courage la mort de son beau-frère. Elle est tourmentée à cause de ses gens, mais tout cela ne fera rien, et ils reprendront leur ouvrage

l'ordinaire. Les domestiques de ce pays-ci qu'on n'en vit de pareils nulle part.

J'espère le premier courrier marquer la conclusion de votre affaire. J'ai vu notre vieux ami. J'acquitterai vos ordres que j'aurai moi-même l'argent nécessaire : il m'a gagné l'autre jour d'argent de whist pour patiemment. Padenheim me paroît et votre ami excellent homme. J'espère qu'il reviendra avec que je pourrai trouver l'occasion de être de quelque utilité. Je vous envoie peu de l'écriture de M. Th—. Vous pourriez la montrer à votre ami, et cela servira pour vos questions.

Adieu, mon bon et cher voisin. Portez-vous bien, réusissez au gré de vos desirs, et que votre voyage à Londres comble tous vos vœux ! Il fait le plus beau temps du monde. J'espère que ni le vent ni la maladie ne contrarieront votre voyage. Conservez-moi votre amitié.

Le 18.

T. J.

Je donne à M. Padenheim la petite boîte avec un petit bijou.

General Valence to M. Jägerhorn.

J'ai un voyage à faire, mon cher ami, qui rend très désirable pour moi d'avoir le plaisir de vous revoir. J'ai reçu votre dernière bien aimable lettre, et je désire fort le succès de votre machine, et fort aussi d'apprendre votre retour. J'ai entendu dire que votre ami d'Amérique étoit venu à Londres. Est-ce vrai ? Revenez, mon cher Jägerhorn, rejoindre les gens qui s'occupent de vous avec le plus tendre intérêt, et une femme qui trouve sa situation pénible. Vous sentirez je pars pour la Suisse combien il seroit affligeant de ne vous avoir plus auparavant. Le moment des près est arrivé ; celui de faucher les bleds n'est pas éloigné : c'est à juger vos intérêts. Votre amitié ne peut offrir ses vœux.

F. A.

Mes complimens à votre cousin, de qui j'ai reçu une lettre

son arrivée en Angleterre, et à qui je ne réponds pas par

Declaration of M. Jägerhorn.

A ■ réponse [de ■ question] qui m'est fait de ■ j'avois entrepris pendant ma dernier séjour en Angleterre :

Le ■ voyage étoit de faire travailler ■ mécanique. Avec celui-ci, ■ connoissances ■ les ■ viron de Hambourg, ■ des amis ■ parents ■ Lord Fitzgerald, ■ j'avois ■ la connoissance ■ Hambourg, m'avaient chargé ■ m'aboucher ■ le même Lord Fitzgerald, pour lui conjurer de ■ point ■ mêler avec les ■ Insurgens d'Irlande. Il n'étoit point présent. Je lui ■ avertir que j'avois ■ lui parler. Il est effectivement arrivé à Londres. Je l'avois parlé sur cette affaire. Il m'avoit assuré que malgré la grande intérêt qu'il prenoit dans tout ■ qui touchait ■ patrie, il n'y étoit pour rien. Je l'avois laissé là, ■ je ■ parti ■ rendant compte à ses amis à ■ retour. Depuis ce tems, je n'ai plus eu aucune connoissance ni la moindre relation avec tous ■ affaires, ayant vécu tranquillement ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ paysne appelée Reinbeck, deux lieues d'Hambourg, dans ■ ■ Holstein.

Au reste, je suis prêt de répondre ■ tous les questions ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ affaire, ou dans tous les autres qui ■ regardent spécialement, ■ de donner des preuves ■ équivoques ■ la véritable vénération ■ de l'attachement que j'ai pour ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ dont le Gouvernement Anglois ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ vigueur ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ gloire, ■ lesquelles sentimens mêmes m'ont décidé ■ venir m'établir ■ ■ ce pays.

F. A. JÄGERHORN SPURILA.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Edward Fitzgerald referred to in M. Jägerhorn's examination.

Monsieur—Je vous remercie bien de votre lettre et de votre souvenir des agréables moments que nous avons passé avec nos

amis ■ Silh. J'étois sur le point de partir pour Londres pour y conduire une de mes ■ ■ je compte ■ vous voir : ■ attendez moi. Monsieur Padenheim, qui part ■ soir, ■ cette lettre. Je compte partir demain ■ soir.

Votre ami avec bien du respect,

E. F.

Examination of M. Jägerhorn.

[Question.] ■ ■ part de qui reçûtes-vous la commission de parler ■ Lord Fitzgerald en Angleterre?—[Réponse.] Du Général Valence.

A quel époque?—Il y deux ans au mois d'Avril.

Qu'elles étoient les instructions précises que ■ donna le Général Valence?—De dire à Lord E. Fitzgerald qu'il ■ se mêlât point des affaires des insurgés en Irlande.

Avez-vous connu Lord E. Fitzgerald avant votre arrivée en Angleterre en 1797?—Oui, je l'ai ■ à Hambourg ■ 1796, par Mr. Valence, qui étoit mon voisin ■ la campagne.

L'avez-vous ■ chez le Ministre Reinhardt?—Non, jamais. Je ■ connoissois pas le Ministre Reinhardt ■ cet époque, ■ je ne savois ■ même ■ cet époque qu'ils avoient ■ relations ensemble. *Mais je l'ai eu depuis.*

Comment ■ en depuis qu'ils ■ relations ■ semble?—Je l'ai ■ depuis par ■ Valence, qui s'est ouvert ■ moi à ce sujet.

M. Valence ■ donc ■ que Lord E. Fitzgerald ■ des relations avec le Ministre Reinhardt, ■ sujet ■ d'Irlande?—Oui, car il m'en ■ parlé.

■ Valence vous a-t-il donné d'adresse ■ Angleterre?—Aucune, excepté celle de Lord E. Fitzgerald en Irlande.

N'aviez-vous point l'adresse de quelques negocians ■ Londres?—Oui; pour Messrs. Thelsson ■ Goldamid.

■ quelle maison avez-vous rencontré Lord E. Fitzgerald?—Dans la maison où je demourois dans les Minories: je ne

■■■ rappelle ■■■ ■■■ numero de la maison, mais elle est tenue par une femme nommée (à ce que je crois), Brown, vers ■■■ milieu de la rue, à main droite en descendant vers la rivière.

Qui ■■■ a trouvé cette maison?—Monsieur Nisser, ■■■ Chape-
■■■ ■■■ ■■■ Suède.

Qui ■■■ conduit Lord E. Fitzgerald chez vous?—Personne. Je lui avois ■■■ ■■■ adresse.

De quelle manière lui ■■■ ■■■ communiqué votre adresse? —J'ai envoyé un de mes amis (un Suédois qui a ■■■ ■■■ voyage avec moi ■■■ Yarmouth ■■■ Londres) ■■■ Dublin.

Comment appelez-vous cet ami?—M. Padenheim. Il étoit ■■■ ■■■ pour ■■■ affaires, ayant servi dans ■■■ Compagnie de ■■■ ■■■ Leone.

Lui ■■■ ■■■ donné une commission verbale?—Non: seulement ■■■ lettre cachetée de manière qu'il ignoroit ce dont il étoit question.

Vous apporta-t-il ■■■ réponse écrite?—Non: seulement une réponse verbale e. a. d. que Lord E. F. devoit conduire ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ dans ■■■ 15 de jours et qu'alors il viendrait ■■■ voir.

Ne fûtes-vous pas chargé de remettre ■■■ Lord F. ■■■ lettre ■■■ ■■■ part de quelqu'un?—Non, pas à Milord mais à Miladi de la part ■■■ Mademoiselle Matheson. Cette lettre m'a ■■■ remise ouverte; elle ■■■ contenoit que ■■■ souhaits pour ■■■ santé ■■■ pour la voir tranquille.

Qu' ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ à Lord F. dans la lettre que ■■■ lui ■■■ écrite?—J'ai dit que j'étois ■■■ ■■■ dans ■■■ pays-ci, ■■■ que je serais bien aise de ■■■ revoir et de renouveler ■■■ connaissance, ■■■ que même j'avois des choses à lui communiquer de la part ■■■ ses amis à Hambourg.

■■■ ■■■ F. est-il ■■■ vous voir plusieurs fois?—Non; rien qu'une seule fois.

Le matin ou ■■■ soir?—Le matin vers ■■■ 11 heures.

■■■ ■■■ ■■■ s-t-il passé chez vous?—Jusqu'à ■■■ ■■■ quatre heures après midi.

A cet entretien Lord F. vous parut-il disposé de suivre vos

conseils!—Oui; il parut céder à [REDACTED] conseils [REDACTED] plus [REDACTED] raison qu'il m'a parlé des [REDACTED] [REDACTED] insurgens [REDACTED] presque désespérées.

Vous a-t-il parlé [REDACTED] ce [REDACTED] d'un nommé M'Kensie!—Non.

Ou d'un nommé Smith!—Non.

De qu'elle manière [REDACTED] a-t-il parlé des [REDACTED] [REDACTED] insurgens [REDACTED] [REDACTED] désespérées!—Il [REDACTED] qu'ils n'avoient ni [REDACTED] ni munitions, [REDACTED] même d'argent, ni [REDACTED] espérance [REDACTED] [REDACTED] étranger, [REDACTED] que [REDACTED] 100,000 Irlandois Unis il n'y avoit que 6,000 d'armés.

Vous nomme-t-il [REDACTED] [REDACTED] amis parmi les Irlandois Unis!—Non; [REDACTED] parla beaucoup de l'expédition de Hoche, [REDACTED] disant que, si [REDACTED] général fût venu dans le Nord, [REDACTED] y auroit eu plus de probabilité d'un soulèvement.

Connoissez-vous Monsieur Dahlman, officier Suedois!—Oui.

Depuis quand le connoissez-vous!—Depuis 1792, [REDACTED] quel époque je l'ai connu à Paris. Je l'ai vu pour [REDACTED] dernière [REDACTED] [REDACTED] partant d'Hambourg.

A-t-il été au service de France!—Non, jamais.

Qui [REDACTED] le M. Ferrier dont je trouve l'adresse dans votre portefeuille!—C'est le [REDACTED] qu'a pris le Général Valence.

La lettre que je trouve dans votre portefeuille, [REDACTED] le 23, qui [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] mots, "J'ai un voyage [REDACTED] faire," et finit, "Mon amitié [REDACTED] peut que [REDACTED] offrir [REDACTED] vœux," et signé F. A., avec un post-scriptum qui finit [REDACTED] [REDACTED] "économie," par qui est-elle écrite!—Par le [REDACTED] Valence, et, comme je crois, pendant [REDACTED] séjour [REDACTED] Angleterre.

[REDACTED] qui veut-on parler par la personnage désignée [REDACTED] "votre [REDACTED] d'Amérique!—Probablement, de Lord E. Fitzgerald.

[REDACTED] qui veut-on parler sous le nom de "votre cousin!"—Apparemment [REDACTED] Monsieur Padenheim.

Comment [REDACTED] reçu cette lettre!—Je crois, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] poste.

Comment [REDACTED] [REDACTED] de la poste savoient-ils [REDACTED] trouver votre

adresse, où qu'elle n'est [] marquée sur [] lettre ? — Probablement, elle m'est parvenue sous l'enveloppe [] quelqu'un d'autre, je [] rappelle [] qui.

Aviez-vous [] quelqu'un, ou [] pour exprimer certaines choses avec Lord E. F. ? — Non, rien [] semblable.

De la part [] qui est la lettre trouvée dans votre portefeuille [] "A. M. Jägerhorn Spurila," [] date, [] signée "votre ami [] bien du respect, E. F. ?" — Elle [] Lord E. F.

Vous [] donc trompé lorsque [] m'aviez [] que [] Padenheim [] avait apporté [] réponse verbale [] ! — Oui, je l'avois oublié.

Que veut dire le mot "Silh" dans cette lettre ? — C'est la [] de M. Valence, où j'ai [] connoissance avec Lord E. F.

Avez-vous connu M. Padenheim avant que de partir d'Hambourg, [] Avril 1797 ? — Oui, je l'ai [] avant : il [] même [] quelques jours chez moi à la campagne.

Lui avez-vous communiqué le projet de votre voyage ? — Oui, bien le projet, mais [] pas l'objet.

Lui avez-vous donné un rendezvous [] Londres ? — Oui, chez [] Suedois.

Savez-vous [] le voyage de Monsieur Padenheim [] payé par quelqu'un, et [] qui ? — Je [] que Monsieur Valence lui a donné dix guinées pour venir en Angleterre. Un [] avant son départ, je l'ai rencontré, et je lui ai proposé de payer [] prix [] voyage pourvu-qu'il vint avec moi. Comme il [] pouvoit [] m'accompagner, M. Valence [] payé [] prix [] son voyage.

Connoissez-vous la lettre tirée de votre portefeuille, et adressée "A. M. Jägerhorn Spurila, [] Londres ?" — Oui, [] Valence.

Que [] Valence [] l'expression suivante qui s'y trouve, "Malgré ?" — Je n'en puis pas [] compte. []

■ ■ ■ nécessairement regarder l'argent que ■ Valence a remis ■ ■ Padenheim.

C'est donc de M. Padenheim qu'il veut parler, sous le nom ■ ■ ■ ?—Oui, ■ parolt.

Qui est la personne désignée dans ■ lettre ■ ■ Valence ■ ■ ■ de M. Th—— ?—Je ne la connois pas.

Fûtes-vous porteur d'une lettre ■ d'un papier quelconque écrite en encre blanche, de ■ part de ■ Valence, ou ■ qui que ■ soit, lorsque ■ ■ ■ en Angleterre ?—Non, jamais.

En ■ ■ ■ reçu écrite en encre blanche pendant votre séjour en Angleterre ?—Non.

Qui ■ ■ ■ personne désignée par M. Valence, ■ ■ le nom de son ami ?—Apparemment, Lord Edouard Fitzgerald.

Quelles étoient les questions que ■ ■ deviez lui faire ?—Je ne ■ rappelle pas d'aucune question que je devois lui faire.

Avez-vous ■ des relations avec ■ Padenheim depuis votre voyage ■ Angleterre, en 1797 ?—Oui ; il a même resté chez moi jusqu'à son départ pour la Suède.

Qui ■ payé son voyage en Irlande ?—Je l'ai payé.

Et son retour ■ Hambourg ?—Moi.

Avez-vous ■ terre près d'Hambourg ?—Oui, mais je l'ai vendu le 15 Février passé, pour 36,000 écus.

Quelle en ■ ■ la ■ ■ ?—A-peu-près ■ ■ ■

Cette terre, est-elle chargée de dettes ?—Oui.

Jusqu'à quelle ■ ■ ?—Jusqu'à 32,000.

Avez-vous d'autre revenus ?—Oui, ■ ■ pension ■ ■ ■ ■ Russie, ■ ■ ■ roubles. ■ ■ ■ régulièrement payé à mon banquier ■ Pétersbourg.

De retour à Hambourg, de votre voyage ■ Angleterre, en 1797, ■ ■ ■ un rapport de votre conversation ■ ■ Lord E. F., ■ ■ qui ?—J'en ai fait un ■ M. Valence.

L'avez-vous ■ ■ verbalement, ■ ■ par ■ ■ ?—Je ■ ■ ■ ■ verbalement ■ ■ par écrit.

M. Valence, qu'a-t-il fait de ■ rapport ?—Je n'en ■ ■ rien.

TRANSLATION.

General Valence to M. Jägerhorn.

I have found your friend again, my dear neighbour. I have duly executed your commission, and he is setting out to join you. I have given him what he needed, and, notwithstanding what he may tell you, and what he must tell you, *that is my concern*.

Your wife is well: she has borne with fortitude the death of her brother-in-law. She is tormented on account of her people; but this will come to nothing, and they will go to work again as usual.

Our country are such that you nowhere find any like them.

I hope, by the first courier, to fix the final conclusion of your affair. I have seen our old friend. I will pay your orders as soon as I shall myself have the necessary money: the other day, he won enough from me at whist to wait patiently. M. Padenheim appears to me to be both your friend and an excellent man. I hope that he will come back with you, and that I may be able to find occasion to be of some service to him. I send you a little of the writing of M. Th——. You may show it to my friend, and that will serve you for your questions.

Farewell, my good and dear neighbour; I wish you health. May you succeed to the extent of your desires, and may your journey to London crown all your wishes! We have the finest weather in the world. I hope that neither wind nor sickness may annoy you on your voyage. Continue your friendship to me.

The 18th.

T. J.

I shall send the small box, with one of the little jewels, to M. Padenheim.

General Valence to M. Jägerhorn.

I have a journey to take, my dear friend, which renders it very desirable for me to have the pleasure of seeing you again. I have received your last and very amiable letter, and I heartily wish success to your machine, and heartily also to hear of your return. I have been told that your American friend is come to London. Is this true? I shall be back, my dear Jägerhorn, and rejoin people who think of you with the most affectionate interest, and a wife who finds her situation uncomfortable. You will be sensible, if I set out for Switzerland, how distressing it will be not to have seen you first. Hay-time is here, that for reaping is not far off: it is for you to judge of your interest. My friendship can only offer you its good wishes.

F. A.

My compliments to your cousin, from whom I received a letter on his arrival in England, and which I have not answered out of economy.

The 23d.

Declaration of M. Jägerhorn.

In answer to the question put to me what I was doing during my stay in England.

The object of my journey was to get a mechanical model made. Besides this, my acquaintance in the environs of Hamburg, and friends and relations of Lord Fitzgerald, with whom I had become acquainted at Hamburg, had charged me to converse with the same Lord Fitzgerald, and to entreat him not to intermeddle in the affairs of the insurgents in Ireland. He was not present [in London]. I sent him an intimation that I had something to say to him. Accordingly he came to London. I spoke to him on that subject. He assured me that, notwithstanding the warm interest which he took in all that related to his country, he was there but a cipher. I left him there, and set out, rendering an account to his friends on my return. Since that time I have neither had any knowledge of, nor the least concern in, those affairs, having lived quietly at my country-house, called Reinbeck, two leagues from Hamburg, in the territory of Holstein.

For the rest, I am ready to answer any questions about this affair, or about any others that specially concern myself, to give unequivocal proofs of the real veneration and attachment to the cause which the British Government is defending with such vigour and glory, and which very sentiments decided me to come and settle in this country.

Letter from Lord Edward Fitzgerald referred to in M. Jägerhorn's Examination.

M. Jägerhorn Speaks.

Sir—I thank you heartily for your letter, and for reminding me of the agreeable moments that we passed with our friends at Silh. I was on the point of setting out for London, to escort one of my sisters, and I reckon to a certainty on seeing you: so expect me. M. Padenheim, who starts this evening, will deliver this letter. I mean to be off to-morrow evening.

Your friend, with much respect,

E. F.

Examination of M. Jägerhorn.

Question.—On behalf of whom did you receive the commission to speak to Lord Fitzgerald, in England?—*Answer.* Of General Valence.

Question.—At what time?—Two years ago in the month of April.

What were the precise instructions given you by General Valence?—

To tell Lord ■ Fitzgerald not to intermeddle in the affairs of the insurgents in Ireland.

Did you know Lord ■ Fitzgerald before your arrival in England in 1797?—Yes; I knew him at Hamburg in 1796, through M. Valence, who was my neighbour in the country.

Had you seen him with Reinhard, the minister?—No, never. I did not know Reinhard, the minister, at that time, and I did not even know then that they had any intercourse. *But I have known it since.*

How did you know since of the intercourse subsisting between them?—I have known of it since through M. Valence, who opened himself to me on this subject.

M. Valence, then, knew that Lord E. Fitzgerald had intercourse with Reinhard, the minister, on the subject of the affairs of Ireland?—Yes, for he spoke of it to me.

Did M. Valence give you any address in England?—None, excepting that of Lord ■ Fitzgerald in Ireland.

Had you not the address of some merchants in London?—Yes, for Messrs. Thelsson and Goldsmid.

In what house did you meet Lord E. Fitzgerald?—At the house where I lodged in the Minories. I do not recollect the number of the house, but it is kept by a woman whose name (I believe) is Brown, about the middle of the street, on the right-hand side going down towards the river.

Who found that house for you?—M. Nisser, chaplain to the minister of Bremen.

Who brought Lord ■ Fitzgerald to you?—Nobody: I had given him my address.

In what manner had you communicated your address to him?—I sent to Dublin one of my friends, a Swede, who had travelled with me from Yarmouth to London.

What is the name of that friend?—M. Padenheim. He had come over on business, having been in the service of the Sierra Leone Com-

Did you give him a verbal commission?—No, only a letter, sealed in such a manner that he could not know anything of the contents.

Did he bring you a written answer?—No, only a verbal answer, that Lord E. ■ was to bring his sister in about a fortnight, and would then call to see me.

Were you not charged to deliver to Lord E. F. a letter from somebody?—No, not to my lord, but to my lady, from Mademoiselle Mathie-

son. This letter was given to me open: it contained nothing but good wishes for her health, and to see her happy.

What did you say to Lord ■ in the letter which you wrote to him?—I told him that I had come to this country, and that I should be very glad to see him again, and to renew my acquaintance with him, and that I had, moreover, things to communicate to him on behalf of his friends at Hamburg.

Did Lord ■ F. come several times to see you?—No; only a single time.

In the morning or the evening?—In the morning, about 11 o'clock.

How long did he stay with you?—Till between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

At this interview, did Lord F. appear disposed to follow your ■■■■■

—Yes; he appeared to yield to my advice, and with the stronger reason, because he spoke of the affairs of the insurgents as being almost desperate.

Did he speak to you, at this time, of a man named M'Kenzie?—No.

Or of one Smith?—No.

In what manner did he speak to you about the affairs of the insurgents being almost desperate?—He said that they had neither arms nor munitions, nor even money, nor any hope of foreign aid, and that out of 100,000 United Irishmen there were but 6000 who were armed.

Did he name to you any of his friends among the United Irish?—No; he talked a great deal about Hoche's expedition, and said that if this general had gone to the North there would have been greater probability of a rising.

Do you know M. Dahlman, a Swedish officer?—Yes.

How long have you known him?—Ever since 1792, as which period I knew him in Paris. I saw him for the last time when leaving Hamburg.

Has he been in the service of France?—No, never.

Who is the M. Ferrier, whose address I find in your pocket-book?—■ is the name assumed by General Valence.

Who wrote that letter which I find in your pocket-book, dated "the 23d," beginning with the words, "I have a journey to make," and ending "My friendship can only offer you its good wishes," and signed F. A., with a postscript which ends with the word "economy"?—General Valence, and, as I believe, during my stay in England.

Who is ■ person mentioned by the designation of "your American friend"?—Probably Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

Who is the person spoken of under the name of "your cousin"?—Apparently, M. Padenheim.

How did you receive this letter?—By the post, I think.

How could the people of the Post Office find out your address, since it is not specified on the letter?—Probably ■ came under ■■■ to ■■■ friend or other; I do not recollect to whom.

Have you any kind of cipher, or words agreed upon to express certain things with Lord ■ F.?—No; nothing of the sort.

From whom is the letter found in your pocket-book, addressed "A Monsieur Jägerhorn Spurila," without date, ■ signed, "Your friend with much respect, E. F."—It is from Lord E. F.

Then you were mistaken when you told me that M. Padenheim brought you a verbal and not a written answer?—Yes; I had forgotten.

What is the meaning of the word "Silb" in that letter?—It is the country-seat of M. Valence, where I made acquaintance with Lord E. F.

Did you know ■ Padenheim before you left Hamburg, in April, 1797?—Yes, I knew him before: ■ has ■■■ stayed some days at my house in the country.

Had you communicated to him the plan of your journey?—Yes; the plan, but not the object.

Did you settle where to meet him in London?—Yes; at the Swedish minister's.

Do you know whether M. Padenheim's travelling expences were paid by some person, and by whom?—I know that M. Valence gave him ten guineas to come to England. A moment before his departure, I met him, and proposed to pay the expences of his voyage, provided that he would go with me. As he could not accompany me, M. Valence paid the cost of his voyage.

Do you know the letter taken from your pocket-book, and addressed "To M. Jägerhorn Spurila, London?"—Yes; it is ■ M. de Valence.

What does ■ Valence mean by the following expression which ■ contains, "Notwithstanding," &c. &c.?—I am not able to explain it. But this must necessarily allude to the money which M. Valence gave to M. Padenheim.

Then it is M. Padenheim that he is speaking of, under the name of your friend?—Yes; so it appears.

Who is the person designated in M. Valence's letter as M. Th——?—I ■ not know.

Were you the bearer of a letter or paper of some sort, written with white ink, from M. Valence, or whosoever it might be, when you came ■ England?—No, never.

Did you receive any such paper written with white ink, during your stay in England?—No.

Who ■ the person meant by M. Valence, under the designation of his friend?—Apparently, Lord E. Fitzgerald.

What were the questions that you had to put to him?—I do not recollect any question that I was to have put to him.

■ you had relations with M. Padenheim since your journey to England, in 1797?—Yes; he even stayed at my house till his departure for ■■■■■.

Who paid for his journey to Ireland?—I paid for it.

And for his return to Hamburg?—I.

Had you an estate near Hamburg?—Yes; but I sold it, on the 15th of February last, for 36,000 crowns.

What was the income from it?—Nearly 2000 crowns.

■ ■■■ property encumbered ■■■ debts?—Yes.

To what ■■■?—32,000.

Have you any other income?—Yes; a pension from the court of Russia of 2000 rubles. It is regularly paid to my banker ■■■ Petersburg.

On your return to Hamburg, from your journey to England, in 1797, did you ■■■ any report of your conversation with Lord E. F., and to whom?—I did make one to M. Valence.

Did you make ■ verbally, or in writing?—I made it both verbally and in writing.

What did M. Valence do with that report?—I know nothing about that.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

Whitehall, April 8, ■■■■

My dear Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland ■ transmit to your Lordship ■ enclosed intelligence from Plymouth, relative to a projected descent ■ Ireland, and I am ■ desire your Lordship will lay the same before the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, ■ his Excellency's information.

I have the honour ■ be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Intelligence from Mr. Hawker, Plymouth.

On the ■ inst., at 8 P.M., arrived here (Plymouth) ■ Swedish brig Count Wrangel, Captain Danbourg, from Dieppe,

in ballast, bound to Norfolk, Virginia. In her came passenger Captain John Lennan (late commanding the schooner privateer Young Jonah): he reports he left Dieppe the 3rd inst., about noon (made ■■■ escape), and that ■■ requisition ■■■ place throughout ■■■ on ■■ 15th Germinal (4th April), on all privateers, and, as they return, their people (and all fishermen) ■■■ taken from them ■■ equip the grand armament now preparing for a descent on Ireland; ■■ is reported no less than forty ships of war (of all sizes) will sail to protect them. In ■■■ which information, ■■ informs me of another expedition preparing for St. Domingo (by report), consisting ■■ four ■■■ of the line, and a sufficient number of transports ■■ ■■■ 15,000 troops, the whole of which ■■ going forward under the direction of Commodore Barney (an American), who is invested with high powers ■■■ them. *Seventeen large ships ■■■ engaged ■■ a part of this flotilla.*

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, April 10, 1799.

My Lord—I ■■ directed by the Duke of Portland ■■ transmit to your Lordship the enclosed copy of information of the principal ■■■ and ■■■ ■■ Brest during the month of March, 1799, communicated by Captain D'Auvergne, Prince of Bouillon; and I am to request that your Lordship will lay the ■■■ before ■■ Lord-Lieutenant for his Excellency's information.

■ have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Substance of the information received the 6th of April, of the principal ■■■ and occurrences ■■ Brest during ■■ of March, 1799.

Brest, ■■■ 15.—The frigates ■■ *Cornélie* ■■ *Fraternité* sailed the ■■ of March, to meet a convoy from Rochefort to

Bourdeaux, that had put in Benaudet under the [redacted] of the five corvettes, *La Mignonne*, *l'Enfant Prodigue*, [redacted] *Vantour*, *le Berceau*, and *la Lovrette*. In the evening, the two frigates met an English frigate in the Race, and passed within pistol-shot. The English [redacted] their names in English, [redacted] [redacted] *Cornélie* made their private signals, which drew the fire of the English frigate. The former, [redacted] being ready for action, prepared during the night, but [redacted] daylight were out of sight of the English ship, but were joined by the frigates [redacted] *Oharente*, *la Bravoure*, [redacted] [redacted] *Semillante*, [redacted] *L'Orient*, [redacted] who chased the former [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] as *Groisais*, [redacted] they were overtaken and known. The [redacted] and convoy from Benaudet came in the night of the 1st, having lost eight brigs on their passage, that had been taken by two English frigates.

Accounts from *L'Orient* state [redacted] the *Argonaute*, a new [redacted] of battle ship, is almost completely rigged, [redacted] the *Sirène* frigate is likewise [redacted] ready at that port to join the Brest division.

March 17.—The fleet in the [redacted] gathers strength daily by [redacted] ships [redacted] [redacted] fitted successively hauling out. There are [redacted] morning in the Road twenty-two line of battle ships, whereof the *Océan*, *Republicain*, and *Terrible* are three-deckers, four of eighty guns, two-deckers, and fifteen of seventy-four guns: their names will be transmitted when they are arranged in line of battle, when the minister has arranged it. [redacted] of the captains are destituted, and others [redacted] to [redacted] appointed immediately. It is now known that Citizen Bruix [redacted] to expedite the armament, and not [redacted] command it in person.

Notwithstanding [redacted] forced levy, the crews are still very weak [redacted] ill composed, having few real [redacted] There [redacted] only the ships of the division, [redacted] long since under sailing orders, [redacted] [redacted] any way complete; [redacted] [redacted] have, [redacted] an average, only 400 of their ship's company [redacted] board; [redacted] [redacted] only twenty [redacted] [redacted] board belonging [redacted] [redacted]

yesterday. N.B.—Each man in the French ships of seven individuals.

March 18.—The *Invincible* hauled into the Road, the *Fougueux*. The *Tyrannicide* has got again the transporting buoy, and will be out in a day or two, will *Centaur* shortly. Large convoys of ropes, cables, arrive daily by land, and most active exertions made in every quarter to prepare the armament; and, by the publicity parade that attend it, many here judge a part of only will upon service, and the surplus intimidate by appearances: indeed, the whole will, events, very incomplete, if it continues as it is present. rich Portuguese prize of the frigate *La Bravoure* disposed of within these few days.

March 20.—The division of three ships of the line and the frigates are always under orders for sea, and frequently make demonstrations of moving, but are still here. The corvettes that brought the last convoy are also under sailing orders for Bourdeaux, Nantes, and L'Orient.

Preparations have been made for the arrival in this town of troops: their destination is for embarkation, and supposed for Ireland. From the proportion of and sea provisions disposed for them, it appears they cannot be destined for a long voyage. The minister has, since his arrival, accelerated the equipment, by attributing every where wanting: expence is spared convey them hither by land; 1200 waggons (*chariots*) and teams are in requisition, between this Laval the eastward.

April 1.—The *Tyrannicide* is transporting buoy. The only change in the Road since the 17th ult. in the fleet of the *Invincible* and *Fougueux*. Notwithstanding activity of the columns in their pursuit faring men, very few only brought in, the country people universally secrete them. Orders have been given to

quarter troops upon the [REDACTED] who have seafaring relations, and who neglect to appear when [REDACTED] upon.

The frigates *Cornélie* [REDACTED] *Fraternité* have [REDACTED] into the harbour, and are disarmed, for the purpose of distributing their [REDACTED] in the line of [REDACTED] ships. An English privateer, named the *Tartar*, [REDACTED] brought into [REDACTED] on the [REDACTED] by l'Utile, privateer of Bourdeaux.

Accounts were likewise received from [REDACTED] the bureau, that one line of battle ship and three frigates [REDACTED] completely rigged, and [REDACTED] ready, to join the Brest division, with whom they expect to be by the latter end of Germinal (about the middle of April). A part of the Belgic conscription levies (about 1200) arrived at Brest the 1st of April. The only changes yet known are: Citizen Delmotte, Contre-Amiral, has, since the arrival of the minister, executed the functions of Commander-in-Chief in the Road; and the Contre-Amiraux Bodouin and Courand command the van and rear divisions, and Chef-de-Division. Linois, is appointed Major-General of the fleet, and the Chef-de-Division, Pallière, Adjutant-General. Citizen Rivière, who [REDACTED] for a second time taken this [REDACTED] in the *Hercule* by the *Marx*, is appointed [REDACTED] the command of the *Terrible*. The whole of the [REDACTED] to whom [REDACTED] due [REDACTED] paid three months last Decade.

D'Auvergne, Prince of Bouillon.

Jersey, 6th April, 1799.

Lord Castlereagh [REDACTED] *Duke of Portland*.

Dublin Castle, April 12, [REDACTED]

My Lord—The Regency Bill was [REDACTED] night committed. I [REDACTED] [REDACTED] inadequacy of the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] then before the House, expressing my readiness to support it, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] was made a complete remedy for [REDACTED] evil [REDACTED] admitted, which could only [REDACTED] done by leaving the entire regulation of the regal power to the [REDACTED] of Great Britain. Considering the measure as

only going to remedy one of ■■■ many cases in which a similar inconvenience might arise, I did not feel myself justified in taking part by moving any amendment in applying so inadequate and ■■■ a remedy.

■■■ in committee by ■■■ Fitzgerald have rendered the Bill ■■■ more incomplete and absurd, and it is my ■■■ to-morrow, on the report, ■■■ propose ■■■ it be rejected. ■■■ Speaker, in ■■■ Committee, made ■■■ long speech. It ■■■ of above four hours' duration, embracing ■■■ infinite variety of topics, and delivered ■■■ animation ■■■ ability. It ■■■ speech of ■■■ partisan in ■■■ bad cause, everything sacrificed to popular impression; ■■■ well calculated ■■■ impress every class of ■■■ with aversion ■■■ the measure of Union. It was pointedly hostile to Mr. Pitt. Nothing could be ■■■ undeserved than ■■■ observations ■■■ addressed to him. It ■■■ a speech of considerable impression as such, but not calculated to produce ■■■ effect to be apprehended, should he think fit to give ■■■ to the world. I consider it advantageous that the Speaker ■■■ had ■■■ opportunity of doing his best. We have encountered our principal adversary, and his arguments will be well understood and answered before ■■■ subject comes again into decision.

■■■ House betrayed less warmth ■■■ the question than formerly, but still I ■■■ ■■■ perceptible change within ■■■ walls, which could render ■■■ present prosecution of ■■■ measure in ■■■ degree practicable.

I have the honour, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Pitt.

Private.

Dublin Castle, April 14, 1799.

My dear Sir—I am directed by Lord Cornwallis to state to you the result of the opinion which he has been led to form after communicating with the principal friends of Government on the subject ■■■ to ■■■ Excellency's ■■■ in your

7th. I perfectly agree in opinion with you that Ireland, to stand entitled to the accommodation of raising money under your auspices in the British market, must adopt the principle of raising an equal proportion of her supplies within one year. The measure suggested of taxing income, though certainly connected with much greater difficulties in its collection, from the disturbed state of the country, than a land-tax of equal amount, is nevertheless preferable as tending to equalise the system of the two countries, and to establish a criterion of their respective resources which may hereafter be of advantage.

His Excellency is equally convinced that this measure should on no account be allowed to be involved or connected with the Union, and that the temper of Parliament at this moment prepared for the adoption of that measure is strongly in favour of it. His Excellency impressed with the importance of this consideration, that it would be his advice that the income-tax should distinctly precede, and not be suffered to accompany the Union.

With this view of the subject, I have to state to you the reasons why Lord Cornwallis considers it expedient to convene the Parliament together in the month of October, for the special purpose of considering this measure rather than to submit it to their consideration before the close of the present Session.

The business is at present so far advanced as I admit of our adjourning in the middle of next week. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, being altogether unprepared with materials for carrying this measure into effect, could not bring it forward with any advantage for a considerable time. The delay, and the obstructions which would infallibly be given to it by the Speaker and Sir John Parnell, would keep the Parliament open for a considerable time, and detain the members in town, when their services are peculiarly required with their regiments or their country places. Another consideration weighs

his Excellency. ■ would postpone ■ proposed dismissals, which have been delayed till the close of the Session, to a dis- ■ day, which would embarrass him with ■ ■ ■ as his opponents; ■ the measure would ■ ■ proposed ■ ■ considerable disadvantages, no sort of intimation having been given that such ■ intention ■ ■ entertained, and it would be complained of ■ ■ surprise.

The proposed delay cannot be material to ■ ultimate object, which is getting at the produce of the tax. Were it ■ ■ enacted, the arrangements for its collection would afterwards be ■ be made; whereas, the whole may be ■ prepared ■ to ■ into operation immediately after the passing of the ■ ■

There are other ■ ■ which induce Lord Cornwallis to think that ■ short Session before Christmas would be particularly desirable. Were the Income-tax and the Union to come before Parliament together ■ the usual time of meeting, the two ■ ■ would materially obstruct each other. To give ■ Income-tax the lead, if other circumstances ■ ■ favourable, would be to postpone the Union inconveniently late in the Session; whereas, by calling the Parliament in October, ■ may get this ■ ■ out of our way. It will be taken upon grounds of necessity in ■ degree to be traced to the project of Union; and, by having ■ opportunity of ascertaining with accuracy ■ temper of Parliament, ■ shall judge with much greater precision of the prudence of bringing the Union forward than we could do if the members were ■ remain dispersed ■ the ■ period for meeting. ■ ■ disadvantage was severely ■ on the late occasion.

Lord Cornwallis trusts the reasons which I have stated will induce you ■ concur with ■ in opinion ■ ■ is inexpedient ■ submit ■ measure ■ Parliament at the close of the present Session, and, if ■ is, that you will be disposed to give the preference ■ ■ does, ■ the suggestion of assembling the Parliament in October, rather ■ ■ letting it ■ ■ over ■ ■

month of January. In mean time, the difficulty will be distinctly that naturally justly to our raising the very large loans required for service of Ireland in the market, that the country be prepared make corresponding exertions in a future Session with their fellow-subjects of Great Britain. In time his Excellency relies on your assistance.

I shall fail to arrange with the Chancellor of the Exchequer a clause by which Quit Rents shall be mortgaged Great for the additional million which you propose to obtain for us. A similar provision was, as you will observe, made in the of last year (a copy of which I enclose in favour of the Bank of Ireland, in of their being prevailed advance upon the Quit Rents. It will only, in the present instance, be necessary to vary the terms, to whatever rate of interest the money remitted may bear. The sale can always be regulated under the existing powers of the Act, according to your wishes, and the value of the Quit Rents will, when sold, liquidate the capital.

I have the honour, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, April 14,

My Lord—The business of our Session has run into greater length than apprehended, when I last had the honour of addressing your Grace. There four or five still in progress, which will keep us sitting till the middle end of next week. Your Grace will perceive after-session could not have been avoided; and, as circumstances have turned out, I do not think that any unfavourable consequences likely to result from it. The Speaker's hostility being decided beyond question, certainly advantageous attack should have been wasted, a moment when the question of Union really at issue. Although his speech

has had its effect, there is ample time for combating his arguments before the subject is again brought into discussion ; that it may be done with success your Grace will have no doubt when you have perused his arguments as published by himself.

The discussion and decision on the Regency has been of much service to the cause of Union : by throwing the labouring oar entirely upon the opposite party, we have obtained a complete admission of the danger resulting from the present principle of connection and of their inability to remove it, without altering and surrendering up their final and immutable settlement of 1782. The measure was brought forward to place Government in the dilemma of refusing a remedy to an evil which they relied, or of diminishing the necessity for a Union, by providing for the case of Regency. The attempt has completely failed ; the dilemma has been thrown back on the proposers, by compelling them to relinquish this attempt as impracticable, unless they purposed to surrender up their Parliamentary independence, and with it their assertions that the settlement of 1782 was fundamental and irrevocable.

Notwithstanding a visible impression produced by the Speaker's argument, I can confidently assure your Grace that the measure of Union is making its way in proportion as it is canvassed and understood. At the same time, I feel it my duty to guard your Grace's mind against an impression which might lead to disappointment, namely, as to the degree in which the public sentiment has undergone a change. The clamour has certainly subsided and the measure has no open advocates who were before silent ; but I cannot perceive either in or out of Parliament that impression which would lead to form any opinion of when the measure may be carried. Within the House, persons who were not decided on a late occasion are now explicit, but I cannot as yet reckon on many declared converts. I only mention the subject in this point of view, as it is of importance that, although the difficul-

ties which stand in way may yield without any very considerable delay, yet neither be dispirited nor disappointed if the resistance should prove obstinate, the Opposition be kept together in a degree which may render the accomplishment of the in the next Session extremely problematical.

In to a letter from Mr. Pitt relating to the Income Tax in this country, I threw out, by the Lord-Lieutenant's directions, for consideration, the expediency of calling the Parliament in October, with a view to that measure. A Session before Christmas would enable us to on ground with certainty the Union. It clearly is of importance not to risk a second failure, and other means by which the disposition of the House may be ascertained to enable your Grace and the King's Ministers to form your determination, and to take your bringing the question, without being exposed on one hand to act upon uncertain grounds, and on the other having your decision long delayed to waste a portion of the usual session after Christmas, which might otherwise be advantageously employed in the of

I have the honour to be, &c ,

CASTLEREAGH.

Michael Burke, Esq. to Lord Castlereagh.

Ballydugan, April 16, 1799.

My Lord—I send you a letter I received from Mr. Blake, father of our member, stating his sentiments and those of several other Catholics, respecting the Union. In a late conversation I had with him, he over to opinion, but since changed it on account of the Catholic claims. I by Mr. Foster's speech, throws out hopes to Catholics of obtaining their claims from a separate Parliament. As, by conduct the question of Union, he peace prosperity of country to gratify pride

and ambition, ■■■ of ■■■ when he thinks ■ necessary, also ■■■ to ■■■ objects ■ favourite plan and principle, ■ any he has, of excluding the Catholics.

■ ■■■ I know their sentiments tolerably well; ■ they ■■■ Foster and those Anti-Unionists who have hitherto opposed their claims, ■■■ encourage their hopes of strongly supporting them, they will, in general, oppose the Union strongly, ■ they consider they would have much ■■■ weight when admitted into a separate, than they would in a United Parliament. They also consider that, ■ the ■■■ of the King, or the removal of Mr. Pitt (both events, I hope, ■■■ from us), their claims will be admitted. If, therefore, it is the intention of Government to admit those claims ■ the time of a Union, they can't be too soon in making it known to them, ■ prevent their getting into the dangerous hands of Mr. Foster and his associates. Those of our religion, who may apprehend their being admitted ■ ■■■ future period, under a separate Parliament, may now probably consent to their being admitted into the United Parliament, to guard against the dangers they apprehend to the Constitution and Church Establishment, from the former taking place.

I consider that Mr. Foster is getting into Mr. Grattan's politics, and, ■ think, will be yet held in the ■■■ estimation by the loyal friends of British connexion. ■■■ speech has, ■ possible, ■■■ ■■■ in the early opinion I formed on ■■■ question, when I find ■■■ ■■■ whom ■ many seem ■ rely ■ ■■■ question obliged to resort to factious, and, I think, disloyal sentiments to support it; but, ■ Government ■ either intimidated or deterred from persevering in the only ■■■ likely ■ ■■■ country, they ■ not deserving ■ the confidence, which, I trust, they possess, of the truly loyal and disinterested men, and ■■■ of ■■■ connexion in it.

I am, &c.

MICHAEL BURKE.

PS. [REDACTED] of the Speaker's assertions [REDACTED] fully disproved by this County. A County meeting was [REDACTED] in it. The friends of Union, considering that reason and moderation would [REDACTED] [REDACTED] listened to, from their knowledge of some of those who attended it, and who were the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] it; [REDACTED] of them, Mr. Peter D—, well known for factious conduct (the other, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] turned out of a corps on suspicion of disloyalty), [REDACTED] [REDACTED] attend. A Protest has appeared, containing property [REDACTED] four times the amount of [REDACTED] those who attended it, [REDACTED] a majority of those [REDACTED] yet committed [REDACTED] the question. It must be observed that the friends of Union [REDACTED] very much increased in [REDACTED] County since that period. There were, indeed, some very loyal and good [REDACTED] [REDACTED] that meeting, who, [REDACTED] any occasion, Union or no Union, will support the peace and Government of the country against Separatists.

The Lord Chancellor to the Lord-Lieutenant.

Ely Place, April 18, 1799.

My dear Lord—I cannot be responsible for any mis-statement of what may fall from me in Parliament; for, if any alarm for the Institution [REDACTED] Maynooth has been sounded, most certainly it can have no foundation in anything which [REDACTED] stated by me, as I did distinctly and repeatedly say that I [REDACTED] sidered it [REDACTED] to be a great national object, and essential to the public security, that there should be a well-regulated Academy in Ireland for the education of Catholics. But it would have been [REDACTED] idle waste of time and a mockery of the House of Lords to have originated any Regulation there, even if there [REDACTED] been time now to enter into so difficult a subject, [REDACTED] a Bill of Appropriation [REDACTED] [REDACTED] by the Commons. [REDACTED] [REDACTED] had pretended [REDACTED] originate any such, it would have been rejected by the Commons for that reason alone, [REDACTED] no other objection was [REDACTED] [REDACTED] it. There [REDACTED] be nothing so easy as to dissipate any alarm which may have arisen by introducing a [REDACTED] [REDACTED] of Appropriation [REDACTED] of a moderate sum, if any [REDACTED] really wanted to support the

College ■ Maynooth for the current year, without any ■ which may be construed into a legislative sanction of their present establishment, which I ■ quite clear, if ■ were to receive ■ permanent sanction, would enable ■ Popish prelates of this country to subvert the Government of it in ten years. ■ seems to be a complete Irish idea first to make ■ Establishment, and then to take the chance for guarding against the maladministration of it.

Your Excellency may be assured that, if the ■ given ■ understand they can have such ■ Establishment only ■ compatible with its due administration, they will submit to the terms. But, if we first sanction the Establishment on their terms, and then desire ■ control them in the administration of it, they will raise ■ clamour with ■ plausible ground for it.

Believe me, &c.,

CLARE.

Lord Cornwallis to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

Phoenix Park, April 10, 1799.

My dear Lord—I neither ■ to ■ your Lordship ■ intending any serious mischief to this country, nor to ■ the Establishment of Maynooth from the charges of abuse and mismanagement which you so clearly stated. ■ the House of Lords gone ■ further than ■ propose the means of reforming the abuses, ■ restrain the shameful expenditure of the public money, and ■ restrict the Establishment ■ the original objects of ■ institution, there could have been no plausible grounds ■ sounding a general alarm amongst the Catholics. But I am sorry to say that a very different construction ■ put upon the proceedings of ■ House ■ Lords, ■ there was not ■ person amongst those whom I saw on Tuesday morning who ■ conceive that ■ institution of Maynooth ■ entirely done away: and many of them ■ so blinded by their Protestant zeal as to exult exceedingly in the justice of

the punishment which they conceived to be thereby inflicted on the Catholics for their offences.

When that opinion universally prevails in Dublin, there be no doubt that the emissaries of faction as well as of will be very active in conveying it to every of kingdom, and that it will most powerfully tend to inflame the minds of the Catholics of orders against the Government, the evil consequences of which it is necessary for me to expatiate.

I conceive it therefore to be necessary that either something should be in Parliament, or some other public taken to quiet the minds of the people, and to convince them that it is not the intention of the Legislature to destroy the institution, and I should be much obliged to your Lordship if you will have the goodness to suggest the mode which may appear to you the proper for effecting purpose.

I have the honour, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Private.

Dublin Castle, April 26, 1799.

My Lord—The Lord-Lieutenant has apprized your Grace of the unexpected interruption given to the grant for the Catholic College in the Lords, in postponing the consideration of the Bill till the 1st of August. The Chancellor's object to have a Bill, with further provisions for the regulation of that seminary, sent up from the Commons. Your Lordship not that the orders of Parliament preclude from bringing in a second on same subject, having already passed this Session, and being yet pending in the other House. It been amended and sent down, no difficulty would have occurred. Finding, upon consultation with the Speaker, that I could not do, I nevertheless thought right to for leave the House, which gave me an opportunity of removing any unfavourable impression which

might have made, of stating that I would do my duty as Government, under the sanction of the provision made by the Commons for the support of the institution, that it should not suffer or fall into decay, should the rising Parliament before the 1st of August preclude the Lords from deciding on the Bill sent up for their consideration. Under this explanation and the opinion of the chair, I withdrew the motion. The subject being actually before the Lords by Bill, made it inexpedient, if not altogether unparliamentary, to proceed by address.

At the late assizes at Clonmell, two actions were tried, and verdicts obtained upon them against Mr. Fitzgerald, for what done by him during the Rebellion in the execution of his office as High Sheriff.¹ In consequence of this, various actions have

¹ The following is one of the cases to which Lord Castlereagh alludes:—"Mr. Thomas J. Fitzgerald seized in Clonmel a gentleman of the name of Wright, against whom no grounds of suspicion could be conjectured by his neighbours, caused five hundred lashes to be inflicted on him in the severest manner, and confined him several days without permitting his wounds to be dressed, so that his recovery from such a state of laceration could hardly be expected. In a trial at law after the rebellion, in action of damages brought by Wright, against this magistrate, the innocence of the plaintiff appeared so manifest, even at a time when prejudices ran amazingly high against persons accused of disloyalty, that the defendant was sentenced to pay £500 to the prosecutor. Many other actions on similar grounds would have been commenced if the Parliament had not put a stop to such proceedings, by an act of indemnity for all errors committed by magistrates from supposed zeal in the public service. A letter, written in the French language, found in the pocket of Wright, was hastily considered as a proof of guilt, though the letter was of a perfectly innocent nature."—*Gordon's History of the Rebellion*

This Fitzgerald was the same person whose zeal in the discovery of offenders is recorded in the Life of Sir John Moore. When that general, on the march from Ferny, entered the town of Clogheen, he saw with disgust a man tied up in the street and under the lash, while the street itself was lined with country people on their knees, with their hats off: nor was that disgust repressed when he was informed that the

been brought only against but against many other magistrates who were active in repressing the disaffected. Nothing could be fatal to the King's interests than an impression obtaining that the Bill of Indemnity inadequate to protect those who had acted for the public service with good intentions, however in a moment of struggle and warmth they might have erred in point of discretion. Nothing explicit than the words of the law upon this subject; and, there is no doubt that, if soundly and clearly expounded by the Bench, and correctly acted upon by the jury, protection completely afforded by them to every man whom the Legislature could possibly to protect. But when these transactions come to be reviewed at a cooler moment, the of violence is proved, when is impossible for the defendant adduce evidence to the whole of the circumstances under which he acted. There is a laudable disposition in the Bench to condemn what appears, as the case is stated, a severity altogether called for; the circumstances are strongly coloured by the plaintiff's counsel; and the jury ultimately find their verdict rather upon the question of whether the defendant exercised a sound discretion than whether he acted *bona fide* with intention for the public service.

Foreseeing that many actions, tending to keep alive animosities, likely to be brought to trial, it has been thought expedient by the Crown Lawyers, with the approbation of the Chancellor, to introduce a short Bill, requiring the jury, in all actions when the defendant pleads that he acted for the suppression of the Rebellion, in they find for the plaintiff, to that the defendant acted maliciously and not with an intent to suppress the Rebellion, otherwise the verdict to be null and void; and that, such actions, it be competent for the judge to certify against the verdict, if shall

High Sheriff, Mr. Fitzgerald, was making great discoveries, and that had already flogged the truth out of many respectable persons. His rule was "to flog each person till he told the truth."

the plaintiff, and upon such certificate a nonsuit may be entered.

It is considered that this will bring the jury to decide in all upon the question at issue; the *quo animo* with which the defendant acted, — it would be a little hard upon the defendant to be prepared for years after the fact to prove that his conduct was altogether prudent or justified by the strict necessity of the case. The certificate of the judge will guard against the improper findings of the juries, which a country so disturbed and corrupted but be.

Less than this, I trust your Grace will be of opinion could be done without leaving our friends most unpleasantly exposed: more I should hope is altogether unnecessary, — I cannot conceive that any man can be indemnified, who appears to a jury to have acted maliciously, and in which opinion the Bench concurs.

Within these few days, the practice of houghing has been revived on the borders of Clare and Galway, in a small degree. The most active will be taken to repress it. The kingdom in general is much less disturbed than it was.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREACH.

Bishop of to Lord Castlereagh.

Street, April 27, 1799.

My Lord—I hope your Lordship will not think that I intrude myself upon your notice improperly, — that I presume marks of attention with which you have often honoured me, — interfere with my opinions — a subject engaged much of your Lordship's time and attention, when you neither for nor expected them. I have too good be persuaded of your Lordship's candour and indulgence, — rely on your doing justice to the motives by which I am actuated in taking such a liberty, and in them I

you will kindly search for reasons to yourself what, without such allowance, you might well receive as forward and officious.

After this necessary apology, I think I can assume to myself a plain plea. From the attention I have paid to the establishment of the Roman Catholic College at Maynooth, I considered it one of those objects which, the Government which your Lordship was instrumental in raising me, required a considerable share of my observation. The interests of religion and the public morals could not be materially affected by such an institution; and it of the greatest consequence was that, planned as it had been in the soundest policy and truest wisdom, its purposes should not be frustrated by the manner of regulating and conducting it.

Whether it was wise at the present moment to irritate the minds of the Roman Catholics by the late decision of the Lords, your Lordship may be assured is not a question which I shall presume to enter. I am happy to hear that it was not to be objected to the institution itself, but that your Lordship has wisely determined to revive it by a new bill. It is in this stage of the business that I was encouraged to submit my observations to your Lordship.

One of the great objects of the institution was to bring the education of the Roman Catholic clergy, in whom the morals and conduct of the Roman Catholic body exclusively depend, into contact with the Government, and to subject them, as far as might be, without outraging their religious prejudices, under its control. For the accomplishment of this object, I thought, from the very first, that the Board of Trustees was improperly constituted. The great majority were Roman Catholics, and the few Protestants who were joined to them seemed to have been nominated rather as a compliment, than as forming an active and efficient part of their body. It is certain that in no instance (and one or two of very great importance, such as the expulsion of the United Irish Students, and the removal

Hussey, [] occurred), did [] of the Protestant [] interfere, nor were they ever [] in by the others; I very humbly submit [] your Lordship whether occasion might [] now be [] to correct what I account a great error. I submit whether, [] addition to [] present number of Protestant Trustees, the Archbishop of Dublin, [] Metropolitan, the Bishop of Kildare, [] the Diocesan, and [] additional officers of [] Crown, should [] be appointed, whether [] should [] be provided that, for all the great objects of the institution, in [] management, its discipline, or the nomination of [] members, [] meeting of the Board should [] held with- [] proper notice being given to the Protestant Trustees, [] a specified number of them being present, and whether, altogether and of the whole body appointed, there should not be a majority of Protestants.

A circumstance [] already occurred to prove how essential such a regulation [] be [] the great objects of Government in forming the institution—I [] the removal of Hussey. Although the Roman Catholic Trustees, and particularly the greater number of their bishops, were very willing to drive him from amongst them, through personal envy and hatred, yet they neither dared [] would [] the [] for which Government called for his removal. It [] not the inflammatory doctrines he advanced in his pastoral letter, [] the mischievous tendency of the spiritual tyranny he proposed to establish, [] was given to him [] the motive for not suffering him to be any longer [] the head of an establishment designed [] promote the public tranquillity. They [] [] to the subterfuge of his being absent from the kingdom, and thus every advantage [] be derived from the example [] effectually frustrated.

I have observed that they neither dared [] would place [] expulsion [] the ground on which alone it could [] purposes of Government. They dared not, as Hussey [] have appealed against [] to their spiritual superior,

■ having punished him ■ enforcing the discipline of ■ Church of Rome, ■ they would not, as they had, every ■ of them, ■ their respective dioceses, adopted his system, and vigorously compelled their clergy to carry ■ into effect.

■ perfectly agree with ■ Chancellor, that ■ Protestant Government and ■ Protestant Legislature would ■ ■ most absurd ■ inconsistent part in continuing, ■ an immense national expence, ■ establishment, the conductors and teachers of which maintain, and consequently inculcate to ■ pupils, a principle of inextinguishable opposition ■ enmity ■ the Established Church; but, if his speech has been properly reported in the newspapers, he has taken ■ notice of what ■ most dangerous and insufferable in the system ■ which the Roman Catholic Bishops have agreed to act, and which is openly and daringly avowed in Hussey's letter—I mean, the regulation of deterring by menaces of excommunication, and immediate exclusion from all the benefits and blessings of the Church, such parents ■ ■ send their children to be educated at Protestant schools. The worst enemies of Ireland could not devise ■ scheme more effectually calculated ■ keep ■ description of the king's subjects a distinct people for ever, and to maintain eternal enmity and hatred between them and the Protestant body. It was obviously ■ scheme ■ raise a spiritual wall of separation between them, in the place of ■ civil wall which the Legislature ■ removed, and to counteract the effects of that ■ intercourse, which every friend of his country rejoiced to ■ so generally taking place, but from which the Roman Catholic Priests, imprudently ■ to depend for their subsistence ■ the number of their respective congregations, naturally dreaded to be ■ sufferers.

■ was precisely the same tyranny of which they ■ themselves so long complained, as violating the ■ principles of nature, by denying the parent the right of educating ■

as to himself. differed only in the punishment, and it was the oppressive, as they are more inexorable in inflicting spiritual than the Legislature ever civil penalties.

this not the only evil to be apprehended from exclusive education. obviously calculated bring into their own hands the education of all the lower orders throughout the kingdom. Of I myself a convincing proof in Diocese of Ossory, some short time before I removed from it. In several parishes, the ministers complained me that their Protestant schoolmasters thrown up their schools. The Roman Catholics withdrawn their children, and the Protestants not sufficiently numerous to afford them a livelihood by continuing to teach them. As the rule become universal, the consequences become equally so; and, the Protestants of the middling and lower orders necessarily procure some kind of education for their children, the instruction of the youth of those classes would inevitably be engrossed by the Roman Catholic Clergy, who have the entire direction of their schools. I need not observe to your Lordship how much effectually this system calculated diminish the number of Protestants in Ireland, than all the institutions which have been at the national expence increase it.

Another dangerous part of the system avowed by Hussey, and put into practice by all the Roman Catholic clergy, that of denying to admit confession or to the sacrament those servants who, in houses of pious and devout Protestants, their their family prayers. They commit any crime and be absolved it; but to join in prayers with family whose bread they eat, although be notorious that there is nothing in those prayers that interferes with their particular tenets, is represented to those poor creatures as a crime of so a as not even to entitle them approach

confession-box. This is obviously in view of securing their adherents of deserting as the former regulation; but with what evident evil consequences pregnant! and be surprised at what many Protestant families witnessed among their during the Rebellion! This spiritual horror with which their priests took such pains to infuse into them against their proved but a step to arm them against their lives. Persons of that level cannot so nicely distinguish between their duties. They cannot weigh much social good-will against much religious abhorrence, nor understand why they are to show any fidelity or attachment to him, a man, whom they are taught to in abomination, to exclude from all communion and intercourse, a Christian. Religion is allowed to be the great bond of society: where that is not only broken, but converted into an instrument of endless disunion, to what other restraints will a Roman Catholic hold himself bound to submit in any of the relations which he stands connected with a Protestant! Nothing remains to restrain or him but the dread of punishment and the rigour of the laws; and, let but the circumstances of the times give him a hope of escaping or eluding these, and he will plunder, he will open his master's door to the midnight assassin, and join in his murder. These are words that convey an idea of criminality to him, and, instead of incurring guilt, he thinks he saves his religion.

Connected with this abuse, and directed at the object that part of the system alluded to in the report of the Chancellor's speech, forbids Roman Catholics to enter a Protestant Church, to assist in a Protestant sermon or exhortation, to receive any kind of moral or religious instruction from a Protestant minister. As this is one of the greatest objects of their dread, so they inexorably punish all who progress with public excommunication. With in England, communication has long been disused; but even when it made

■ part of the practical discipline of the ■ Church, it required ■ regular legal course of proceedings in the Eccle- ■ Courts. ■ the ■ Catholic priests exercise ■ dangerous engine of their power at discretion, and ■ altogether ■ deter from heresy. Amongst them, ■ accompanied by ■ ancient ■ and effects. ■ excommunicated person ■ driven from society: ■ one converses with him: no ■ serves, no ■ employs him. Of this, there came ■ me ■ remarkable instance, in ■ from Thomas Town, who, in ■ family, constantly read an English Bible, and sometimes went to hear ■ sermon ■ the Protestant church. ■ priest admonished, but to no effect: ■ sentence of excommunication ■ then publicly pronounced against him, ■ the immediate consequence ■ the entire loss of his business as a house-painter, and that he and his family ■ reduced to poverty. He ■ frequently advised to bring ■ action of damages against the priest; but he was afraid for his life should ■ attempt it, and he was finally obliged to quit the country.

Your Lordship will judge whether this is ■ instrument ■ left in such hands uncontrolled and unregulated, and how ■ it is bearable that these men should exercise ■ authority unknown to the laws of the land, assuming a power above these laws, and tending ■ deprive the subject of his legal rights, beyond the most arbitrary and tyrannical exertion of the civic authority.

That such ■ system ■ this deserves to be reprobated by the Legislature ■ deny. ■ is equally undeniable ■ establishment conducted by persons engaged in reducing ■ system into practice, and in which is provided ■ regular succession of persons trained to and instructed to perpetuate it, ■ not ■ tolerated, much less supported ■ public expence. ■ there ■ a wide difference between abolishing ■ establishment ■ revising ■ after ■ trial; ■ violating, in ■ moment, ■ from passion ■ prejudice, ■ of Government ■ the implied pledge ■ Par-

liament, endeavouring to the abuses frustrate the intentions of Government and Parliament, in providing an institution which, if properly conducted, must be productive of the greatest public good. I would indisputably enter into a thorough explanation with the Roman Catholic Bishops on these points I have detailed. I should insist on them formally and practically renouncing this dangerous system in its parts, and their giving a pledge that no such doctrines be taught in their divinity schools, nor enforced by their parochial clergy; but, unless they perversely refused compliance, and so made it manifest, that, instead of contributing to the public peace and tranquillity, and reconciling the descriptions of his majesty's subjects to each other, its tendency must be to perpetuate religious divisions and animosities; and, in place of contributing to give effect to the laws, and to obedience to the civil power, to build up a power acting independent of the laws, and assuming an authority superior to them, as is found in Hussey's pamphlet, I should think it a most unwise measure to suffer the education of the Roman Catholic Clergy to return to its old course, from which so much mischief has flowed to the empire. On that event they either go for their education to countries hostile to England, where, in addition to their religious prejudices, they will imbibe those civil prejudices, and that spirit of hatred and resentment, of which France and Spain have uniformly availed themselves, since the period of the Reformation, to raise a party for themselves, and excite domestic disturbances in Ireland; or they will be left to pick up such an education as they can find at home, amidst all the poverty, ignorance, and low and vicious habits, of the class from which they are generally taken. Ever since the establishment of the college at Maynooth, I have observed a great abuse of this nature; and, in an answer, which I made Mr. Pelham of the schools in Kilkenny, I pointed out to him.

of Maynooth was made for such a number of students as Huzary, assisted by their bishops, returned as necessary for a constant and full supply of their parochial clergy. But, content with this, their bishops, by a generous compliance with one of the regulations of the Council of Trent, and an affected imitation of the bishops of the Continent, have established a seminary under their inspection, for the education of Priests in every diocese through the kingdom. If I judge of them by what I observed of that Ossory, this is a dangerous abuse. In the first place, it goes to multiply their clergy beyond calculation, and make them in a country where there be no provision for them, and where they will, in all probability, minister to the vices and consult the worst prejudices of the lower orders to get bread. In the next place, the students of these seminaries do not reside in them, but come there seasonally and at stated periods, from all the parts of each diocese, they spend the greatest part of their time among their parents and friends, acquiring habits of idleness and of the vices which abound among their own class, of course become a profligate and abandoned priesthood.

proves in itself the necessity of such an institution of Maynooth, and must militate against a scheme which I hear is in contemplation, for diminishing the number of the students to be provided for in that college. So from this being a wise measure, the number necessary for the supply of their parochial clergy should be maintained in its extent, Government should be authorized to insist on the suppression of private seminaries, as as they comprehend the education of priests for the ministry, and their bishops should give orders to none but those who have been educated at Maynooth. As education is provided for by the Government and Legislature, they ought to be under regulation to them as the Church is; and they have an occasion to

complain that the same measure should be dealt to one as to
 other.

I owe a thousand apologies to your Lordship for having
 broken in so long on your time; but I will prolong my
 intrusion further, than to hope that your Lordship assured
 of sincere attachment high respect of,

My Lord, your, &c., &c.,

T. L. MEATH.

Letter of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, April 28,

My Lord—The information respecting the conclusion of
 your Session, which your Excellency may imagine I must have
 been for some time in expectation of your communicating to
 me, I had yesterday the pleasure of receiving in a letter
 (private) from Lord Castlereagh, which contains besides many
 interesting particulars, for which I desire your Excellency to
 him my best thanks.

In consequence of this intimation, I have the honour of
 acquainting your Excellency that I shall send you by Poyle,
 your messenger, a copy of the joint Address and Resolutions
 which presented to the King by the two Houses of Par-
 liament on Friday last, and Majesty's gracious
 substance of which you will communicate the
 Irish Parliament in the proposed by your Excellency,
 in your intended speech at the close of the Session, a draft of
 which, I suppose, is now upon the road, together with notice
 of time which it is your intention House
 should adjourn, having agreed to the remainder of the
 Bills, which transmitted for his Majesty's approba-
 tion

I beg leave to congratulate your Excellency the full
 firmation of the good accounts which have been received of
 the Austrian and have the honour to
 be, &c.

PORTLAND.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, April ■■■ ■■■■

My ■■■ Lord—The Duke of Portland has directed me ■■■
■■■ your Lordship, for ■■■ Lord-Lieutenant's information,
the enclosed copy of a note which I have received from
Mr. Balan, the Prussian Chargé d' Affaires, ■■■ the subject of
■■■ late journey of Captain Schouler to Ireland, ■■■ to inform
your Lordship confidentially that there is but too much reason
■ fear that the King of Prussia is about to recede from the
engagement he ■■■ contracted.

Every attention will be paid here to a subject of such importance to the tranquillity of Ireland, but I am afraid that his Prussian Majesty's resolution is finally taken.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

M. Balan ■■■ Mr. Wickham.

Londres, ce 26 Avril, 1799.

M. Balan ■■■ l'honneur de faire ses complimens ■■■ Mr. Wickham, et de l'informer que le Capitaine de Schouler ■■■ revenu hier de l'Irlande, après y avoir examiné ceux des insurgens ■■■ prisonniers qui sont propres ■■■ servir dans l'armée Prussienne en qualité de simples soldats. Cet officier ■■■ dispose maintenant à faire ■■■ rapport ■■■ Roi ■■■ le résultat de ■■■ démarches, et ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ que lorsque ■■■ réponse ■■■ les ordres ultérieurs ■■■ sa Majesté seront arrivés qu'on pourra procéder ■■■ l'embarquement ■■■ transport, des recrues, que le Capitaine de Schouler pourra être dans le cas de faire. ■■■ Balan prie donc Mr. Wickham de vouloir bien faire en sorte qu'en attendant le Gouvernement Irlandais garde en dépôt les individus des- ■■■ ■■■ service Prussien.

TRANSLATION.

M. Balan to ■■■ ■■■■

London, April ■■■ ■■■■

■ Balan has the honour to present his compliments to Mr. Wickham, and to inform him that Captain de Schouler returned yesterday from

Ireland, after having examined such of the insurgents made prisoners as are fit to serve in the Prussian army in quality of private soldiers. This is now preparing to make his report to the King of the result of his proceedings; and will not be till the answer and the ulterior orders of his Majesty arrive, that steps can be taken for the embarkation and transport of the recruits that Captain de Schonler shall have occasion to take. Balan therefore requests Mr. Wickham to have the goodness to arrange so that in the mean time the Irish Government shall keep in depôt the individuals destined for the Prussian service.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

[Without date—indorsed April, 1799.]

My dear Lord—I send a few of the English Acts, note them and others. Paper not restricted before Geo. III. Scotland then restricted to Notes above 20s.; that restriction is now suspended, and she may issue Notes for a shilling. England limited to Notes of 20s. by 15 Geo. III., and of £5 by 17 Geo. III. These Acts, now suspended, except that, if any person refuses to pay Notes he in cash under £5, he may be compellable by a justice, and be liable to costs of 20 shillings.

The Chancellor's Act prohibits the issue of Notes under three guineas entirely; this is not done in England. The Chancellor's Act permits the issue of three guinea Notes, and under five guinea Notes, under certain restrictions which were enacted in England by 17 Geo. III., as to Notes under £5, but which Act is suspended. The Chancellor's Act enables a justice to force the payment of Notes under £5. present in force in England.

Why go further than England? Why forbid the issue of Notes which England permits, and leave every person the power of enforcing the payment of small notes in cash, he pleases, in England?

bankers in London do issue small Notes, country bankers in England do. Why give a monopoly the Bank, which assisted Government nor trade? Why

destroy the competition of private bankers who have assisted

I answer—The quantities of paper issuing by the private bankers are enormous and dangerous, and the forgeries destructive.

The private bankers make Bank of Ireland Notes their capital, by which means nine paper capitals may be issued for one in cash, which leads to general bankruptcy; or, if the Bank, aware of the practice of the bankers, do not issue their usual quantity of paper, it follows that the National Bank is crippled, and their capital is used to their ruin.

They can never relieve trade or Government under the present system. The Bank can never open again and pay in specie, unless it can judge of the quantity of paper in the market.

If bankers are forced to issue only £5 Notes, they are brought back to the situation where they stood before the Bank stopped payment.

The bankers will still have the power of trading on the National Bank capital in excess above £5.

Your Lordship might inquire from the National Bank the value of their trade. They ought to have from £1,200,000 to £1,500,000 in Notes in the market.

I understand the small Notes under 20s. issued at Cork are of a bad kind.

I hear the Bank of Ireland, in order to employ their capital, have been reduced to deal in national securities.

E. O.

Mr. Napier to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

Admiralty, May 1, 1799.

My Lord—I avail myself of the detention of the messenger, for the purpose of obtaining an order for an extra packet-boat, to mention to your Lordship a few circumstances relative to the French fleet.

By Lord Bridport's report [redacted] me, [redacted] appears the enemy's fleet had been seen in a state of preparation on the 25th, and, according to the account of [redacted] officers [redacted] to reconnoitre, consisting of 18 or [redacted] ships of the line, and 9 or 10 frigates and sloops. The whole got under [redacted] on [redacted] morning [redacted] the 26th, when the weather was [redacted] foggy, that the frigate [redacted] [redacted] look [redacted] [redacted] could hardly [redacted] her own length, [redacted] [redacted] in some danger of being taken, having approached [redacted] [redacted] enemy. It also appears to have been doubted whether the [redacted] would not have endeavoured to [redacted] [redacted] anchorage; and, under that impression, it appears that the fleet under Lord Bridport [redacted] not leave the station off Brest till he had sent [redacted] of his cruisers to look in the next morning; when only [redacted] ship appeared to be [redacted] in the road.

Lord Bridport had with him either 16 [redacted] 17 ships of the line; two sailed to join [redacted] Lordship on the 26th or 27th from Spithead, and two more have been ordered from Plymouth; but, in the event of his meeting the enemy, the probability [redacted] that he will fight him with 17 sail, viz. 5 of three decks and 12 of two decks. I send this hasty scrawl for your own private information.

Believe [redacted] [redacted] be, &c.,

EVAN NEPEAN.

Mr. Nepean to Lord Castlereagh.

Admiralty Office, May 1, [redacted]

My Lord—I have the honour of transmitting to your Lordship, for the information of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, the copy of a letter which I have despatched by [redacted] messenger to Admiral Kingsmill.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

EVAN NEPEAN.

Admiralty Office, May 1, [redacted]

Sir—I am commanded, by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, [redacted] acquaint you that, by advices received [redacted]

Admiral [redacted] Bridport, [redacted] 27th inst., it appears that [redacted] enemy's [redacted] sailed [redacted] in considerable force [redacted] the morning of the 26th, and that, owing to the thick fog, the frigate which [redacted] been appointed to reconnoitre had [redacted] sight of the enemy; that [redacted] Lordship [redacted] determined, [redacted] consequence, to proceed with his whole force off Cape Clear in quest of [redacted] enemy, and was, at the time of his closing his despatch, making the best of his way thither. It [redacted] not [redacted] that any transports [redacted] with the enemy's fleet [redacted] time of [redacted] sailing.

I send this intelligence by a special messenger, [redacted] you may [redacted] apprized, as early as possible, of [redacted] circumstances, and guard, as far as may be in your power, against any mischief which the enemy may meditate. Since this intelligence has reached their Lordships, orders have been sent to the commanders of the two ships named in the margin (Ramillies, Robust) to [redacted] immediately from Plymouth to join Lord Bridport off Cape Clear; and I have it farther in command to signify their direction to you to send notice thereof to his Lordship, that he may leave such orders as he may think proper for their commanders, in the event of his quitting that station.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient, &c.,

EVAN NEPEAN.

PS. If the Polyphemus should be in a condition to put [redacted] sea, you are to order her commander to join Lord Bridport [redacted] his appearance [redacted] the coast.

Mr. Nepean to Lord Castlereagh.

Admiralty Office, May 3, [redacted]

My Lord—I [redacted] commanded, by my Lords Commissioners of [redacted] Admiralty, to send your Lordship enclosed, for [redacted] information of [redacted] Excellency [redacted] Lord-Lieutenant, copy of a letter transmitted [redacted] them by [redacted] Secretary Dundas from

Captain d'Auvergne, Prince of Bouillon, relative ■■■ equip-
■■■ of the ■■■ fleet and other particulars.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

EVAN NEPEAN.

Jersey, April 29, 1799.

Sir—I have the honour to transmit ■ your Excellency ■ closed a ■■■ of the armament ■ Brest, ■ it ■ taken on the 15th inst. (the list contains the ■■■ of ■ ships, being nearly the whole number that ■■■ at Brest.) ■ number of troops ■ board each line-of-battle-ship ■ been limited to 150 men, mostly composed of the Belgic conscription and German deserters: ■ it does not appear that there ■ any ■ detained at Brest for embarkation. All the cannoniers, matelots, and soldats de la marine, who did the duty of the town and forts, as well as the able-bodied workmen of the arsenal, have been embarked to assist to make up the crews, which will convey to your Excellency an idea of the difficulty they experience to man their fleet, ■ of the composition of their crews. They make a sort of parade and demonstration of intending soon to put to sea, and it is circulated amongst the officers that Cadix ■ the place of their destination; but it is, with some foundation, expected that this report is circulated ■■ to tranquillize the partisans of Buonaparte by ■ appearance of an effort towards the Mediter- ■■■ with ■ view to ■■■ him, than to be a very determined plan. The division of Redon, by boarding each other in Bertheaume Road, suffered so much ■ to oblige the line-of-battle ships to ■■■ into the Road, while the frigates pushed out to the southward, ■ meet ■ rich convoy from Bourdeaux, for which three of them ■■■ waiting under Belleisle.

The crews of the ships in Brest Road are near complete as ■ numbers, but very small ■■■ with respect to professional ■■■ One of their commissaries has calculated ■ every quintal of rope and cables which they have received by land has ■ the Republic, before ■ got in the arsenal, from ■ ■

30 millions d'ors, £500,000 ton. Your Excellency will judge, from this *true data*, what their distress and plunder provide such exorbitant expences must have been; their every credit confidence from and at other seaports exhausted, it will require the imperious despotism of their requisition and maximum procure resource there in future.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

D'AUVERGNE, Prince of Bouillon.

Lord Cornwallis to Duke of Portland.

Private.

Castle, May 4,

My Lord—Although the business in Parliament is not yet altogether finished, to admit of its being adjourned, yet I have thought it expedient to transmit the Speech for your Grace's consideration, that your Grace may have full time to model part of which refers to the Union, and which of important and delicate a policy in the present state of the question. I have endeavoured to mark the utmost determination which appeared compatible with the respect due the decision of the Commons, and to express, the part of his Majesty, the fixed purpose of bringing the subject again under the consideration of his Irish Parliament, without pledging himself the period.

In adverting to the extraordinary extent of Supplies, I have endeavoured to point the attention of Parliament to the necessity of making hereafter corresponding exertions with those of Great Britain, to meet the exigencies of affairs, impress the public mind that dependent Great for the means of our present security. I have avoided pointing measure of Income in more direct terms, lest the enemies of a Union should succeed in poisoning public mind this subject, we have an opportunity submitting it Parliament.

The varying events on the Continent, issue of the

present expedition (which will, I trust, prove glorious to his Majesty's arms), may render considerable alterations requisite in the early part of the Speech. The whole is merely sketched [redacted] the consideration of his Majesty's Ministers, [redacted] [redacted] confident it will receive from your Grace every necessary correction.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

[redacted] Castle, May 4, 1799.

My Lord—Your Grace's despatch of the 1st, communicating [redacted] intelligence of the enemy's fleet having sailed from Brest on the 25th, [redacted] received this forenoon [redacted] 12 o'clock. I lost [redacted] time in making the necessary arrangements for giving them the best reception in my power, should they happen to escape the vigilance of Lord Bridport's fleet.

I have the honour to enclose, for your Grace's information, a sketch of the distribution of the force at present under my command, [redacted] also of the private instructions which have been given to the Generals commanding districts, from which your Grace will perceive the stationary as well [redacted] moveable force, which the present situation of the army enables [redacted] to oppose, on the [redacted] points of attack, to the enemy.

The Warwick and Suffolk regiments, having been fortunately detained in the Bay by contrary winds, [redacted] this day disembarked, and will, if occasion should call for their services, form a valuable addition to my force.

I have directed [redacted] yeomanry throughout the kingdom [redacted] be placed on permanent duty, in order to guard against the early enterprises of the disaffected, on its being understood [redacted] the enemy [redacted] [redacted]

From the arrangements which [redacted] I have been enabled to make and the general state of the army, I feel confident that I shall [redacted] [redacted] successfully to oppose the force which [redacted] enemy may be presumed to have on board; but, should they [redacted]

in effecting ■ landing, lest untoward circumstances should ■■ (which it is necessary to be prepared for in the present ■■ of the kingdom), I confide in the ■■■■ which your ■■■■ gives me, that I may expect to be speedily and effectually reinforced from Great Britain.

■ Majesty may depend on every exertion of mine being zealously directed to ■■■■ this kingdom against the designs of the enemy.

I have the honour, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Mr. Wickham ■ Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, May 8, 1790.

My dear Lord—I have much satisfaction in informing your Lordship that, contrary to my expectation, the King of Prussia has consented to receive the Irish recruits. His intention ■■ formally notified by ■ letter from M. Balan yesterday, ■■ M. Schouler will be sent back to Ireland without loss of time. In the ■■ time, the Duke of Portland would be glad to know where and when they can be embarked, and whether any ■■■■ to that effect have been taken in Ireland.

I have ■■ honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

Whitehall, May 9, 1790.

My dear Lord—The Lord-Lieutenant's very interesting despatches of the 4th and 5th ■■■■ received this morning, together with two letters from your Lordship and from Mr. Cooke, the whole by ■■ Admiralty Messenger.

The Duke of Portland will write fully to the Lord-Lieutenant as ■■■■ as he shall ■■ himself warranted in forming an opinion on the destination of the ■■■■ fleet. At present, ■■ Grace ■■ ■■ grounds to go upon, and wishes therefore ■■ to give ■■ ■■ conjectures ■■ ■■ Lord-Lieutenant, for fear ■■ misloading.

I have carefully examined all [REDACTED] reports [REDACTED] have been received in my department from Holland, [REDACTED] it appears to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] evident that, [REDACTED] the time the instructions were given [REDACTED] the Captain of the Rebecca, [REDACTED] intended that [REDACTED] expedition should sail from the Texel, and equally [REDACTED] [REDACTED] this expedition [REDACTED] soon [REDACTED] countermanded. There exist the strongest [REDACTED] to induce [REDACTED] to believe, that the original destination of the whole [REDACTED] Ireland; but whether the destination of the Brest fleet [REDACTED] changed when the expedition from [REDACTED] Texel was countermanded is more than I [REDACTED] presume to say. It has been found impossible to decipher the letter found [REDACTED] board the Rebecca.

The undermentioned ships will proceed immediately to the coast of Ireland: the two first [REDACTED] ordered there on Tuesday, the remaining four to-day—Royal Sovereign, 110; Atlas, 98; Formidable, [REDACTED]; Triumph, 74; Canada, 74; Agincourt, 64.

A large body of troops will be collected in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth, ready to send [REDACTED] to Ireland on the first appearance of the French fleet on the Irish coast. Now that the wind is in the West, I trust that we shall not be long without having certain tidings of the enemy.

I remain, with unfeigned regard, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

[REDACTED] and Secret.

Whitchall, May 10, 1799.

My dear Lord—The enclosed despatch from the Duke of Portland to the Lord-Lieutenant was [REDACTED] down to [REDACTED] yesterday from Burlington House [REDACTED] moment [REDACTED] Basilico [REDACTED] out. I [REDACTED] [REDACTED] think it worth while to send [REDACTED] a second Messenger, [REDACTED] I had given [REDACTED] note of the intelligence on which it [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Mr. Nepean, who enclosed it to Lord Bridport under a flying [REDACTED] to your Lordship, and sent it by Basilico. It [REDACTED] communicated to [REDACTED] after my [REDACTED] to your Lordship by [REDACTED] same Messenger [REDACTED] made up.

This morning advices have been received that the Spanish fleet, consisting of five sail of the line, was actually cruising off Ferrol on the 28th ultimo; on the same day, the Brest fleet, consisting of seventeen sail, was met by a neutral ship, steering S.W., Cape Pinau, ■■■ bearing W. by S., ■■ that, ■■■ wind shifted to the westward in the course of that or the following day, they could not possibly have doubled Cape Ortagal. As it is, the junction may have been effected about the 1st or 2nd, though possibly ■■■ before the 3rd ■■ 4th.

There is every reason to believe that the Rebecca was sent ■■ sea for the purpose of being taken. Further ■■■ respecting her capture have been received here to-day, from which ■■■ not only ■■■ she made no resistance, but ■■■ might easily have avoided the Black Joke.

Information has been received to-day from Brest, from which it ■■■ that it ■■■ generally believed in that port that ■■■ division of Admiral Redon was to separate from the ■■■ of the fleet, and make for Ireland. Your Lordship will find frequent mention made of the division of Admiral Redon, in the intelligence I have from time transmitted to you from that quarter.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. George Miller to Lord Castlereagh.

College, May 11, 1799.

My Lord—Having within these few days heard that Government are now seriously intent ■■ executing the plan of ■■ College ■■ Armagh, I ■■ induced, by my respect for your Lordship and my anxious desire for promoting the improvement of Education, to trouble your Lordship with ■■ few observations ■■ the subject. These, my Lord, ■■ the result of ■■ practical experience of ■■ ■■■ by conversations with those who were connected with me in the same system of instruction, ■■ every inquiry ■■■ I could make concerning the ■■■ adopted in the Universities of ■■■ Britain.

I would observe, in the first place, that the several plans adopted in [REDACTED] Universities [REDACTED] England, Scotland, and Ireland, appear to be possessed of distinct advantages, and to labour [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]. It is notorious that classical knowledge [REDACTED] [REDACTED] with eminent success [REDACTED] Oxford; but it will scarcely be proposed [REDACTED] this [REDACTED] to institute a seminary [REDACTED] [REDACTED] exclusively devoted [REDACTED] this time [REDACTED] [REDACTED] knowledge of ancient literature. We have, however, in [REDACTED] respect, [REDACTED] to acquire, [REDACTED] perhaps [REDACTED] may appear that the acquisition [REDACTED] [REDACTED] incompatible with [REDACTED] due attention [REDACTED] other parts of academic education. [REDACTED] regard paid to mathematical learning in Cambridge [REDACTED] [REDACTED] deservedly procured for that University [REDACTED] very high reputation. Two defects, however, may, I think, [REDACTED] discovered in the system there adopted. One of these is, that monopoly of respect which is given to the cultivation of [REDACTED] abstract sciences. The other is, that the system [REDACTED] better adapted to bringing forward [REDACTED] few very eminent scholars than to diffusing [REDACTED] moderate degree of instruction among the [REDACTED] of students. Those who [REDACTED] termed "Candidates for Honours" are stimulated [REDACTED] very superior exertions by the opportunity of distinguishing themselves in the examinations which they voluntarily sustain; but, [REDACTED] I have not been misinformed, the greater part of each class [REDACTED] allowed to graduate without much anxiety about their literary acquisitions. Though, in this country, we have been accustomed to [REDACTED] in little estimation the mode of education practised in the Scotch Universities, it appears to possess, in [REDACTED] respects, a superiority [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]. To teach wholly by oral instruction [REDACTED] indeed to be a very imperfect method of conveying information, in [REDACTED] age in which books on every subject may easily be procured. It seems rather fitted for giving vague and popular views of the general outline [REDACTED] a science than for impressing [REDACTED] minds of youth with distinct conceptions, [REDACTED] training [REDACTED] [REDACTED] habits of [REDACTED] reasoning. But in this way the lecturer is both enabled and required to propose [REDACTED] [REDACTED] hearers every novelty in the progressive im-

provement of the subject on which he lectures ; and, though some of his hearers may be unable to follow him through the whole of his observations, yet all will catch, some the general view of the subject, some interest in the inquiry. The advantages, therefore, of this method are, that it is progressive with the sciences which it explains, and that it excites a more lively interest in the pursuits of philosophy. Its defect is that it is ill adapted to impressing on the mind and scientific knowledge of elementary principles and forming habits of connected reasoning. Indeed, the Scotch system is liable to another important objection. As the Universities of that country are superintended only by professors and not by tutors, there is no discipline, no inspection of the private conduct of the students. The orderly habits of the country, and the dispersion of the students through the towns, prevent any riotous consequences ; but, except where it is checked by the poverty of the students, I believe there is much debauchery.

Our mode of education possesses, I am persuaded, some considerable advantages, and greater than it appears to possess. It is more substantial than specious. Still, however, I think that it might receive essential improvements. It inculcates, with considerable accuracy, during four years, the elements of every branch of Science, and a grammatical knowledge of a considerable quantity of Greek and Latin. This must certainly be attended by the very material advantage of inducing habits of regularity and precision of thinking ; but it excites little love of literature, and has, therefore, little tendency to eminent distinction. The young mind is harassed by the frequent repetition of the most elementary treatises of Science, and is not interested by an enlarged view of the general progress of any. The Lectures of the Professors of Natural Philosophy do not form a useful exception to this observation. But they are only a partial remedy. They are confined to the course of study, which the attention of the student is particularly directed, and by which alone collegiate distinction is ascertained. Nor

have students of industry and ability ■ opportunity, as in Cambridge, of evincing superior attainments by submitting ■ more extensive examination. All ■ confined within the ■ limits, and ■ young man of the brightest genius is ■ employed in the ■ elementary study with the ■ of ■ class.

Our system is disadvantageous to the ■ as well as ■ the pupils. Consisting almost entirely of private instruction, ■ obliges every tutor to teach everything, and consequently leaves little leisure ■ disposition for application to any favourite pursuit.

What I would propose is to combine into ■ system the several advantages of all those which have been mentioned. This is, I ■ persuaded, very practicable, without incurring any danger of their disadvantages. For this purpose, agreeably to a scheme suggested to me by ■ learned friend, I would confine the course of ■ elementary information to two years instead of four. During these two years, Logic and the ■ of Geometry and Algebra might be sufficiently taught according to the present mode of private lectures and quarterly examinations. With these might be combined, ■ at present, ■ sufficient quantity of the Greek and Latin Classics and Ancient History. The only material alteration which I would propose is ■ diminution of the quantity of Greek and Latin. This I would recommend for the sake of Classical Learning. The quantity in our ■ is so great that the preparation for the classical part of an examination is almost unavoidably ■ matter of drudgery rather than of taste. When the students ■ passed with sufficient credit through this preparatory course, they should be considered ■ qualified for the subsequent one, which should occupy the ■ and fourth year, and be conducted by the Public Lectures of Professors. In the ■ year, they might successively attend the lectures of ■ Pro- ■ of Astronomy and ■ Philosophy; and might, ■ same time, receive from other Professors further improve- ■ ■ Learning; and, in the fourth year, they

might, in ■■■ manner, ■■■ the lectures in ■■■ ■■■ of Christianity, ■■■ continue ■■■ Classical Lectures. There should also be a course of Lectures for the higher ■■■ of Mathematics, given by a Professor; but it ■■■ equally true of a mathematician as of a poet, that he must be ■■■ work of Nature; attendance ■■■ course should be voluntary, ■■■ is in ■■■ University. On account of its obvious importance, I would recommend the establishment of a professorship of Natural History, for the instruction of such ■■■ should voluntarily attend. The subject would ■■■ sufficiently interesting to procure a ■■■ attendance.

This plan would combine with that of ■■■ system the advantage of the Scotch plan of professorial lectures. The students might, in the two former years, be sufficiently trained to the accuracy of elementary education, and in the latter ■■■ quire those enlarged and interesting views of the different branches of study which our own system fails to furnish.

To unite with ■■■ scheme the advantages of English education, I would adopt, but on an extended scale, the examinations for honours held ■■■ Cambridge. For all who had not caught ■■■ ambition of distinction, it should be sufficient that they had passed the elementary examinations of the first and second year, ■■■ received certificates of diligent attendance on the lectures of the professors during the third and fourth. In this way, they could ■■■ but have received ■■■ useful information. For those who ■■■ better availed themselves of the opportunities which they had enjoyed, there should ■■■ examinations similar ■■■ those ■■■ Cambridge, but with this improvement, that they should not ■■■ exclusively appropriated to mathematical learning. Every student desirous of graduating with respectability should have an option of being examined in ■■■ one of ■■■ of which one ■■■ consist of ■■■ and ■■■ Philosophy, another of Logic and Ethics, and a ■■■ of ■■■ Learning. ■■■ encouragement to every student of talent ■■■ diligence to employ ■■■ leisure

during ■ suspension of examinations in the two latter years, ■ improving himself in any department of literature in which he might feel ■ disposition ■ excel; and the classical ■ of Oxford might ■ perhaps, in time, be successfully cultivated in the ■ seminary with the mathematics of Cambridge.

The importance of the subject will, I hope, plead my apology for trespassing thus ■ ■ the attention of your Lordship. If these hints should receive your Lordship's approbation, it would afford me considerable pleasure to draw out ■ extended scheme: but, ■ I ■ desirous of avoiding any occasion of offending those who may be more attached to ■ mode of education, I request that it may be ■ little known ■ possible that I have taken the liberty of recommending any deviation from it.¹

I have the honour to be, &c.,

GEORGE MILLER.

Mr. Wickham ■ Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, May 12, 1799.

My dear Lord—The Duke of Portland being at Bulstrode, I feel it necessary that I should inform your Lordship without delay that instructions have been sent to the Attorney and Solicitor-General to prepare for the Great Seal the drafts of the two Commissions suggested by the Lord-Lieutenant in his Excellency's despatch of the ■ instant, namely, one to enable Commissioners, in the Lord-Lieutenant's absence, to give ■ royal ■ to the ■ before Parliament; the other, in ■ which God ■!—any accident should happen to ■ Excellency, to vest the Government at once in the hands of Lords Justices. The Commissions will be made out respectively to the persons suggested by his Excellency, and to the first will be added ■ clause empowering the Commissioners to prorogue Parliament ■ of necessity. ■ have the honour, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

¹ ■ plan proposed ■ the intended College at Armagh will be found ■ Supplement to 1798.

Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, May 14,

My Lord—The precaution manifested by your Excellency in your despatch of the 6th instant is much approved by the King, that I received Majesty's immediate commands to consult his law servants on the proper manner of appointing Commissioners to signify the royal assent to such Bills may be returned from hence, in case of your Excellency's necessary absence from Dublin at the time they may be ready to be passed, and to acquaint you that it is his pleasure that the name of the persons proposed by your Excellency should be inserted in the Commission, with the usual powers with which similar Commissioners are entrusted in this kingdom.

As your Excellency very justly observes, that, by your patent as Lieutenant-General and General-Governor of Ireland, the civil and military government of that kingdom is equally confided to you, and that, in case of the enemy's landing, you should put yourself at the head of the troops, in conformity to what you suppose, and what certainly would be, the wish of his Majesty, I have the honour to inform you that your suggestion respecting the expediency of having a dormant Commission for the appointment of Lords Justices has also received his Majesty's entire approbation, and that a patent is making out for that purpose to the Lord Primate, the Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of Shannon, but to take effect only in the event of any suspension of the Executive Government. I had the advantage of some conversation on this subject with the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, during the residence he made here in the course of last autumn, the purport of which I had communicated to the King's confidential servants, and submitted to Majesty, whose sanction I have received as for the possession of the opinion of the Attorney-General Solicitor-General upon it, and accordingly be prepared without loss of time.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Bishop of Meath to Mr. Marshall.

May 14, 1799.

My dear Marshall—Enclosed I send you a Protest, which I have drawn up for Meath, and which Colonel Burrowes is exerting himself here to get signed by persons having property in the County. The [redacted] be very considerable, both as to property and respectability. It is much better, in my opinion, that this should be managed by these gentlemen themselves than to let Government appear, or any person who might be supposed to be connected with it.

With respect to home, Colonel Burrowes is sending copies of the Protest [redacted] for signature; but whether that [redacted] the way you will like to be pursued, you are the best judges. It may cause jealousy to have it sent about in that way; and I conclude that, if Lord Castlereagh approves the Protest, it will be [redacted] to Lord Bective,¹ and others, who have extensive influence, and whose co-operation may be relied on. I shall take care to represent to the Clergy how essentially they, above all others, are interested in the [redacted] of the [redacted]

I have not heard any thing new this day. The [redacted] of a vessel that often runs to Morlaix, says, that the general [redacted] versation there [redacted] that the French fleet [redacted] doubly officered, for the purpose of supplying the Spaniards, and forcing them to put [redacted] in conjunction with their fleet. But [redacted] shall have little fear from Spanish seamen, commanded by Frenchmen, nor do I foresee any danger from any destination they may have, provided they do not [redacted] a large army in Ireland.

Yours, &c.,

T. L. MEATH.

Protest.

We, the undersigned Noblemen, Clergy, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of [redacted] County of Meath, having thoroughly considered the purport of certain Resolutions pub-

¹ Thomas, second Earl, created in 1800 Marquess of [redacted]

lished in the newspapers, and assuming to be the sense of the County — the proposal of a Legislative Union with Britain, feel it a justice we ourselves to protest against such assumption, and to claim a right of expressing our own judgment on a measure that materially affects our general and [REDACTED] interests.

We [REDACTED] contemplate the various disasters and [REDACTED] have so uniformly succeeded each other, for such a series of years, in this distracted country, without being impressed with a conviction that something is essentially [REDACTED] radically defective in our political system, that more [REDACTED] measures must be resorted to than have been hitherto provided to remedy the evils to which the public [REDACTED] is constantly exposed.

In the proposal of a Legislative Union, promising to be conducive to this happy end, we see nothing to alarm us for our independence or our interests; nor can we comprehend how such a [REDACTED] can be either injurious or degrading to either of the coalescing parties, while the terms, both to Constitution and Commerce, are to be discussed and settled by each nation, exercising its own independent powers of deliberation and decision.

We agree with [REDACTED] of the best and wisest men in both kingdoms in conceiving the strongest hopes that a Union so attained would remove every source of distrust and jealousy between the two countries; that it would consolidate the power and [REDACTED] of the Empire, and preclude the common enemy from the hope of converting our divisions into an instrument of separation; that it would open a prospect of composing those religious dissensions to which we can trace so much of the public misery; that it would introduce among our people English capital, English manufacture, English industry, habits, and manners.

Under these impressions, we think that, whenever His Majesty shall, in his wisdom, think proper to communicate to our

Legislature the result of ■■■ enlightened ■■■ temperate deliberations of the Lords and Commons of Great Britain on this momentous question, it will be received with ■■■ attention ■■■ is due to the ■■■ Sovereign ■■■ to the Parliament of ■■■ country with which ■■■ ■■■ be for ■■■ united in affections and interests; and we expect that, in giving ■■■ a full and dispassionate discussion, our representatives will ■■■ to both kingdoms that they have nothing in view but the peace and prosperity of Ireland, ■■■ essentially inseparable from ■■■ peace ■■■ prosperity of the Empire.

Mr. Wickham ■■■ Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, May 17, 1799.

My Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of a letter which has been received from Vice-Admiral Dickson, commanding ■■■ Majesty's squadron off the Texel, together with ■■■ Extract of a letter therein referred to from Captain Bligh, of his Majesty's ship Director, giving an account of the observations they ■■■ severally made of the state of the enemy's force in the Texel; ■■■ I have to request ■■■ your Lordship will lay the ■■■ before the Lord-Lieutenant, for his Excellency's information.

I have the honour ■■■ be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Vice-Admiral Dickson to Mr. Nepean.

Monarch, at Sea, May 11, 1799.

Sir—It being very clear weather, I have, this evening, had a very good sight of the enemy in the Texel, and find ■■■ of their ships that were in the New Deep ■■■ advanced down into the ■■■ Deep, so that the number which appear in a ■■■ for putting to sea are fifteen, but whether inclined ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ cannot determine: however, they seem to have something in view, as they never appeared to be ■■■ a

greater state of activity, which exactly agrees with the account of the enemy's motions there. We were evening more than miles the enemy.

I am, &c.,

ABUHL DICKSON.

I send the Extract of a letter from Captain Bligh, of the Director.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Bligh, May 11, 1799.

I have kept close by the land during the fog, and nothing can have escaped me. Early this morning, I saw a tolerably good sight of the enemy, and observed four of the four ships which were in the New Deep, and mentioned in my report, now advanced into the Mars Deep; so that my account stands fifteen in the Mars Deep, and two in the New Deep. They have their sails loose to-day—some hoisted up. One ship, in particular, been hoisting lowering top-masts and studding to teach their men.

Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, May 18, 1799

My Lord—Having laid before the King Mr. Freeling's letter to Mr. Wickham, of the 11th instant, a copy of which Lord Castlereagh will have communicated to your Excellency, relative to a plan for the more speedy conveyance of despatches London and Dublin during the present emergency, His Majesty was graciously pleased to express his approbation of it, and of the measures which had been taken for carrying it into execution; but, at the same time, to signify His pleasure that the establishment be strictly confined to the conveyance of despatches from the Government of one country to the other; I have signified to the Postmaster-General His Majesty's commands that they do, on no account, any private business from any whatever to the Government from

country by this conveyance, I have no doubt that your Excellency will afford their Lordships every assistance your power which enable me to carry his Majesty's commands into effect.

I am, &c.,

PORTLAND,

Dr. Hales¹ to ———.

Killesandra, May 16, 1799.

Dear Sir—You were pleased to express your approbation of some Hints I formerly sent you. I have since considerably extended and enlarged them. They have grown into "Queries Political and Philosophical on the First Principles of Political Society and Civil Government," leading to—

1. A Detection of Locke's fundamental misrepresentations of the Origin of Civil Society, Constitution of Civil Government, and the Revolutionary Corollaries of Priestley, Prie, Rousseau, &c.

2. A Vindication of Hooker, Milton, and Molyneux, from favouring such doctrines, by partial and unfair quotation and perversion of their meaning.

3. That the Union is "no Innovation" a violation of Parliamentary independence of Ireland, in the opinion of Molyneux.

4. That the modification of Poyning's Act, in 1782, was absurd and impolitic, on the principles of Molyneux.

5. That the over-liberal grant of the Elective Franchise, in 1793, was a dangerous Innovation, subversive of the Constitution of 1709, and the Protestant ascendancy, and connexion.

6. That the grand principle of Parliamentary Representation,

¹ William Hales, D.D., Rector of Killesandra, was Professor of Oriental Languages in Trinity College, Dublin. It does not appear to whom this letter was addressed, probably to Mr. Cooke, or Mr.

all world over, was not Population, but Property, or Taxation; illustrated from ancient Republics, the Constitution, Union.

7. The relative Constitutions of France and Britain—the misery of the former, and the prosperity of the latter, Rose, &c.

I a cursory sketch of of the leading points, dis- summarily, but I superficially.

Administration, I understand, circulated 10,000 copies of Mr. Pitt's Speech, and they did wisely. These "Queries" an enlarged comment the liberal principles he advances upon a great scale. Administration would it worth their while to accept a tract, not written in the spirit of party—ministerial or anti-ministerial—but by an honest student and citizen of the world, who has more enlarged views of liberal education, national prosperity, &c., than the question of Union—although that, at the present crisis, is a consideration, on which the "Queries" may throw new and more favourable light—the result of serious and dispassionate inquiry and rational conviction.

If these be topics which deserve a superficial discussion, and, if well supported, due circulation, you will please communicate this proposal and acquaint me with the result. If you think that I may employ my time better than in such visionary speculations, which not be seconded supported, acquaint me also, and soon, in kindness to

Yours faithfully,
W. H.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Pitt.

Private.

Dublin Castle, May 21, 1799.

My Sir—I am happy to be enabled to to you that the loan of two millions been this day contracted for by Mr. White, a trifle above market-price of Stock, the Five per Cents. being at 75, the subscriber agreeing

a Treasury Bill for £24 15s., ██████ gives ██████ the money ██████ about ██████ 4s. 9d. per cent.; the Treasury Bill to be payable ██████ the 24th of June, 1801. I enclose for your information ██████ memorandum of the biddings of ██████ several parties. I trust, under ██████ the circumstances of the country, this loan, both in point of extent and terms, ██████ ██████ your approbation.

I have ██████ satisfaction also ██████ inform you that the part ██████ by Government in support of the ██████ for regulating the issue of small notes ██████ led to ██████ understanding with ██████ Bank, which ██████ likely ██████ from that quarter a greater degree of accommodation than ██████ have been in the ██████ of receiving. They have, on the late emergency, advanced £300,000, in addition to the £700,000 outstanding, and agreed to take Treasury Bills for the whole sum, repayable on the 24th of June, 1800. We have thus ██████ ██████ good fortune to ██████ the utmost amount ██████ which I ██████ any expectation that their advances could be pushed, and for a longer period than that to which they could be prevailed to consent in the ██████ of last year.

Although any specific engagement that no further loan should be raised in the ██████ market within the year has been declined by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, yet I feel ██████ my duty to state to you that it is his decided opinion that no further ██████ can be expected from hence; and when the extent of the loan and the advance from the ██████ are ██████ sidered, and compared with that of former years, you will be disposed to give credit to his statement.

I have, &c.,

C.

██████████ *Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.*

London, May 23, ██████

My Lord—I have the honour to return to your Excellency enclosed the ██████ of your intended speech ██████ putting an ██████ to the present Session, with such alterations ██████ have appeared advisable to ██████ Majesty's confidential ██████ to ██████ mended for your Excellency's adoption.

As the paragraph respecting the situation of [redacted] on the Continent was [redacted] [redacted] have some of its [redacted] called in question, and in [redacted] instances indeed to have been contradicted, it seemed [redacted] prudent to avoid details, [redacted] confine ourselves to a general assertion, which happily [redacted] be controverted, and [redacted] support it by referring to [redacted] conduct [redacted] successes of our [redacted] imperial allies, which are equally important and notorious.

Your Excellency, I am persuaded, [redacted] not disapprove [redacted] [redacted] in which it [redacted] suggested to convey the opinion you entertain of the liberality with which this country will [redacted] always disposed to assist the sister kingdom, and you will, I trust, [redacted] with [redacted] in thinking [redacted] it is [redacted] consistent that such a sentiment should be expressed in the shape of a hope than with any greater degree of confidence.

The necessary independence of the Lord-Lieutenant [redacted] the Irish Parliament appeared to us to require the omission of your Excellency's reference to your own responsibility in the security you hold out for the due administration of the extraordinary powers with which you have been entrusted: I have, therefore, only to observe upon the last article respecting the great measure of a Union (on the [redacted] of which, I believe, the tranquillity, prosperity, and happiness of Ireland essentially depend) that, in the communication your Excellency [redacted] directed to make, it appears to [redacted] that you cannot too closely follow the words [redacted] well [redacted] the sentiments which have been used by his Majesty and [redacted] Parliament of this kingdom upon the subject, [redacted] you will accordingly find that the words which I have taken the liberty of substituting in the place of those in which you [redacted] proposed to express yourself are, [redacted] nearly as possible, copied from the joint Address of the two Houses, and [redacted] of his Majesty's most gracious answer. As this communication [redacted] of [redacted] paramount to [redacted] of all other political subjects, [redacted] is made, moreover, by [redacted] King's express command, [redacted] should [redacted] that it should [redacted] with [redacted] solemnity [redacted] to

■ magnitude, ■ be mixed with any inferior ■ temporary considerations. I therefore ■ to advise your Excellency to ■ over in silence the difference which showed ■ in the two branches of the Irish Parliament respecting ■ measure, ■ profess only to look forward to that event which ■ realize the hopes and wishes ■ so emphatically expressed by ■ Majesty, and for which purpose the paragraph has been brought into the form in which I have herewith the honour of transmitting ■ to you.

■ cannot conclude without offering your Excellency my warmest congratulations on the uninterrupted succession of glorious ■ which have attended the ■ of his Majesty's Imperial Allies since the commencement of the present ■ paign, and expressing ■ anxious but confident hope that the fate of the French fleet will be such ■ will deprive them of the right of being considered ■ a maritime power, and annihilate their ■ of giving uneasiness to ■ Majesty's Government ■ Ireland.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Lord Cernoeallie to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, May 24, 1793.

My Lord—The business of the Session being ■ gone through, and the Parliament upon the point of being prorogued, ■ necessary to recall your Grace's attention ■ the line of conduct to be pursued toward those gentlemen holding offices under the King's Government who have resisted ■ question of Union.

Under the instructions conveyed to ■ by your Grace before the opening of the Session, namely, to bring forward and to enforce the measure with all the weight and energy of Government, I ■ it indispensable to remove, ■ before ■ question ■ into discussion, ■ J. Parnell ■ ■ Prime Serjeant, ■ holding ■ peculiarly confidential.

Immediately after the reception of the Commons, in communicating the particulars of the failure, I submitted your Grace's consideration in my observations appeared material with a view of determining how the principle of removal ought to be pushed, and the names of the individuals who were separated from Government on that question.

Your Grace's despatch of the 10th of February, conveyed by Mr. Elliot, the principle laid down for the direction of my conduct was, in the first instance, to preserve the strength of my administration, and with this view to exercise the authority of Government with as much decision as might be consistent with its stability. Such has been my course of proceeding, which I am resolved to pursue.

My communications have been entirely confined to the intimation given to Colonel Foster and Colonel Wolfe. I am with truth assured your Grace that it is not from any wish to avoid the utmost degree of responsibility to which my situation renders me liable, that I pursue this decision taken upon communication with your Grace, and the most mature consideration of his Majesty's confidential servants on both sides of the water can give it.

Your Grace, I am confident, will feel as I do, that in having resolved steadily and firmly to pursue this great measure of Union—a determination which every day's experience proves to be incontrovertibly my understanding to be essential to the salvation of this country, and with it of the empire, we are approaching a period the most critical that has yet occurred to the principle of connection between these kingdoms.

There is an opposition in Parliament to the measure of Union, various in character and talents. Their numbers, though they have not proved equal to the Government, have, at present, the prosecution of the measure in practice impracticable. The removals in contemplation will consolidate the party, and to render their future

proportionably An entire forbearance on the part of Government will probably be received rather as a mark of weakness than of conciliation, and perhaps deprive us of friends rather than procure converts. With the concurrence advice of the King's confidential servants, I am prepared to employ every exertion in my power to bring it to a successful issue. must be a bold, or rather a rash man, who would for either the public or parliamentary temper of this country; but, weighing the subject with the attention I am master of, I am no to despair of a successful issue, though the period may be delayed. After having gone so far, and the principle in question having in fact been already acted upon, I am no other alternative but to pursue the most decided line of conduct. Hesitation may dissolve much of our present strength, which may not perhaps be composed of materials to resist the impression which might be created by the appearance of timidity on the part of Government.

I again beg leave to repeat that, with your Grace's assistance, I am prepared and ready to do my best. I feel strongly the difficulties we have to encounter, but I do not despair of their yielding to the steady perseverance and united exertions of the Government in both countries.

I have the honour to be, &c.

PS. it necessary to apprise your Grace that, in estimating supporters of the Union, Lord Downshire's friends down as they voted upon the late occasion. Lord De Clifford's¹ reckoned amongst the doubtfuls. Your Grace will how much depends on an avowed declaration from the persons in question. I am sorry to say my information represents both best undecided. Were Lord Downshire to come forward, should have County of Down unanimous, and authority of so leading a County could not have preponderating influence throughout the province.

¹ Edward, eighteenth Baron.

of Lord

Whitehall, May 1799.

My Lord—The desire your Excellency expressed to know opinion of the King's confidential respecting exercise of the power vested in the Lord-Lieutenant of enabling members of the House of Commons to vacate their seats, by an appointment to the Escheatorship of Munster, makes necessary for to enter upon that subject much sooner than I had any thought of, and length certainly than I any intention of doing.

having occurred to me this power, considering recent origin, had not hitherto been exercised on principles which could as yet have become clearly understood and settled, I had had it in contemplation to make it a subject of conversation both with Mr. Pelham and Lord Castlereagh; and, in times of more leisure, I might possibly have troubled your Excellency yourself on the subject: but matters of much importance have occupied those moments which I have had the good fortune to with those gentlemen, in their official capacities, and my thoughts, in corresponding with your Excellency Lord Castlereagh, have been differently employed, this subject has always escaped my recollection. But, as your Excellency calls upon to furnish you with precedents, and to acquaint you with the wishes and opinions of the King's servants upon the expediency of refusing or acceding in future to applications of this description, I hope I be able to give you much information necessary; more especially as the uniform practice of the last twenty years, from which not inclined to deviate, will render any information merely a matter of curiosity, except as it may justify the conduct of your Government in the cases Lieutenant-Colonel Cole Tighe.

may have been practice of ancient times, I am sufficiently informed of say; but I strongly

believe the nomination of Chiltern Hundreds (which was the model for your Escheatorships of Munster) was considered very much a matter of favour, and so much so, that whether a person in opposition to the Ministry would have thought himself entitled to ask for it. I rather think instances of this being done might be found with Lord North's administration, previously to the death of Mr. Clerke Jervoise, who applied for it that he might be a candidate for the county of Hants, which was the ingenuity of parliamentary and professional men to look for other expedients by which a seat could be vacated, and as many presented themselves when the Civil List Act was to be looked into with that view, that they no longer thought expedient or worth while to refute the specific means of vacating by an appointment to the Chiltern Hundreds, whenever it should be applied for. And, since that time, it has become quite a matter of course to give it as often as it is asked for, without any consideration whatever of the political opinions, or connexions, or views of the person who applies for it. The case probably may not be the same in Ireland as it is here, and there may not be the same facility in obtaining the means of vacating a seat there which is to be found in this country; but I know not how to think that the means are confined to the Escheatorship of Munster, and that there is no other office or any military agency, the acceptance of which will incapacitate or disqualify a member of the House of Commons from holding his seat in that House. But, admitting that the power of vacating a seat is solely in the hands of Government, it would not make any difference, in my opinion, as to the mode in which I should think the exercise of that power advisable, which, I have no scruple in saying, should be without distinction of persons; because I am not disposed to conceive a case where a refusal would be an invidious act, always open to objections, and liable, in the case of Lieutenant-Colonel Cole, to be attacked on constitutional grounds: but, besides, I do not discover any advantage that

either Administration or the general cause of Government [REDACTED] derive from it. It will hardly be contended [REDACTED] enemy will [REDACTED] kept out of the House by it, or that any object can be gained by it, which [REDACTED] compensate the obloquy and clamour which it must raise. I am convinced that there may be [REDACTED] sions where, in theory, the [REDACTED] to give the Escheatorship might be productive of real service to the public; [REDACTED] I should much doubt [REDACTED] result in practice, because I cannot imagine one which [REDACTED] not [REDACTED] to [REDACTED] controverted and misrepresented, [REDACTED] to [REDACTED] jealousies and a degree of odium towards Government in [REDACTED] minds of the people which [REDACTED] consideration can counterbalance.

However, my Lord, [REDACTED] your Excellency is fully and unquestionably justified by the precedents of former times in this country, and by the practice which [REDACTED] to have prevailed in Ireland since the Government has been in possession of the power in question, and by the principles and motives which have influenced your conduct on this occasion, you may depend upon the most unqualified and unreserved support which his Majesty's servants here can give you in maintaining and justifying your determinations in [REDACTED] [REDACTED] of Lieutenant-Colonel Cole and Mr. Tighe. But, at the [REDACTED] time, I must desire you [REDACTED] consider of the best means of restraining this power to the same purposes, and exercising it in the [REDACTED] manner and form, as it [REDACTED] in the habit of being used in this kingdom, so as that the [REDACTED] may be granted in future according to the opinion expressed by your Excellency, namely, without any consideration of [REDACTED] politics of the individual who solicits it.

I [REDACTED] [REDACTED] close [REDACTED] letter without expressing the entire satisfaction of his Majesty's [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Lord Castlereagh's conduct in the [REDACTED] upon the subject. It seems [REDACTED] have been [REDACTED] only highly proper, but correct in the extreme, and [REDACTED] [REDACTED] must reflect as much honour upon him as an individual as [REDACTED] his public capacity. And, though there [REDACTED] no occasion on which [REDACTED] has taken a part in Parliament, in which the display

of his talents has not reflected equal honour ■ your Excellency's administration and himself, the decided superiority which he manifested in this debate, ■ the triumph obtained to the cause of Government, particularly mark ■ as ■ event upon which my ■ congratulations should be offered ■ your Excellency.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Lord Bridport ■ Lord Castlereagh.

Royal George, Bentry Bay, May 25, 1799.

My Lord—I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that ■ arrived here yesterday with ■ Majesty's squadron under my command, for the purpose of completing the stores, provisions, and water of the several ships, ■ well ■ circumstances will admit. I have also received ■ copy of Mr. Nepean's letter to your Lordship, of the 18th instant, together with the despatch sent through Major-General Moore, which ■ forwarded to ■ by Major-General Nugent. Your Lordship will be pleased to forward to this Bay any information which you may judge it necessary to transmit to ■

I have the honour to be, &c.,

BRIDPORT.

Mr. ■ Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, May 25, 1799.

My Lord—I have received and ■ before the Duke of Portland your Lordship's letter ■ the 4th inst., signifying the Lord-Lieutenant's wish that John Campbell may ■ immediately sent to Ireland, and his Grace ■ to give ■ directions accordingly. I have ■ the honour to transmit to your Lordship an extract of a letter from Captain Philip Hue, commanding his Majesty's Ship Actæon, which relates ■ another Irishman in custody on board that ship, on the subject of whom I wrote to your Lordship on the

inst., and I am to request that you will have the goodness to acquaint the Duke of Portland with his Excellency's wishes respecting him.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

of a Letter from Captain Philip Hae to Mr. Nepean.

Majesty's Ship Actæon, Liverpool, May 16, 1799.

I beg you will be pleased to acquaint the Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that, on my joining *Majesty's Ship Actæon*, I found the two men named in the margin (John Kelly Scarsfield, M. Fitzgerald) detained as prisoners, agreeably to his Lordship's orders to Lieutenant Aitchison of the 29th ult., and that I shall continue to keep them in close confinement until their Lordships' further pleasure is known respecting their disposal.

The Right Hon. George Rose to Lord Castlereagh.

Old Palace Yard, May 31, 1799.

My dear Lord—Mr. Count's importunes me so much on the subject of Sir W. Newcomen's house remitting a part of the loan for Ireland, that I am compelled to mention it again to you; but I am well aware, as I mentioned before, of the impropriety of any real interference on this side of the water in such matters, that I have not the remotest wish to involve you in the slightest difficulty about the business: have the goodness only in your leisure to enable me to show Mr. Count I do not neglect his request. Your loan of £2,000,000 has been made on very good terms.

We have lately been urged to apply to you about the arrears of the pensions of the Royal Family: they are here charged on the Consolidated Fund, and paid with the same punctuality as the other Funds; Sir John Parnell undertook to make some such arrangement in the Irish Treasury.

The certainty of the French fleet being gone to the southward will, I trust, produce a good effect in Ireland, by showing [redacted] there that they [redacted] not the [redacted] object of the Great Nation.

I am, &c.,

GEORGE [redacted]

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Private.

Dublin Castle, [redacted] 3, 1799.

My Lord—Since I last had the honour of addressing your Grace, nothing of any moment [redacted] occurred which has not been communicated to your Grace in the Lord-Lieutenant's despatches. The general state of the country has been gradually improving since my Lord-Lieutenant [redacted] enabled to exercise Martial Law without the interference of the ordinary [redacted] of justice, and there [redacted] every [redacted] to hope that the steady application of this strong and necessary remedy, having already proved effectual to repress and diminish outrage, [redacted] have that impression upon the minds of the disaffected of the efficient powers of the State, when called for by the extent of their [redacted] crimes, [redacted] will make them cautious hereafter of engaging in a similar contest.

Your Grace will have observed, that [redacted] part of the kingdom has escaped the influence of the conspiracy, but that it [redacted] fortunately affected different quarters [redacted] different times. The disease [redacted] to have a regular progress, [redacted] it is seldom [redacted] height in opposite points of the kingdom [redacted] the same time: [redacted] first, it affected Ulster almost exclusively; [redacted] next appeared in Leinster, afterwards took possession of Munster, and ultimately extended itself [redacted] Connaught. The symptoms of convalescence appear in some degree to follow [redacted] principle of succession, with [redacted] difference, that, as the [redacted] in a great [redacted] connected [redacted] with the religious [redacted] test, the [redacted] cause which perhaps prolongs the struggle in the [redacted] accelerated [redacted] termination in the North. [redacted]

Protestant Dissenters in Ulster a great degree withdrawn themselves from the Union and become Orangemen.

The Northern Catholics, always committed in feeling against the Presbyterians, were, during the early period of the conspiracy, loyal. The religious complexion of the Rebellion in the South gradually separated the Protestants from the treason, precisely in the degree appeared to embark the Catholics in it. Defenderism introduced, and is principally under that organization, into which the profligate of the Dissenters have been prevailed to enter, that what there of treason in the North is present associated. They are destitute of leaders; the people of substance, manufacturers as well as farmers, have withdrawn from them. The Province of Ulster comprises, at this moment, a numerous body of determined loyalists. Its yeomanry equals in numbers and far exceeds in effectiveness that of the other three provinces. They have of late been considerably augmented, and I am justified by the opinion of the officers commanding in that district in stating to your Grace that Ulster can be secured by its yeomanry, and even furnish a considerable body of infantry, well adapted to serve as light troops, to with the regular army against the enemy. With the exception of some very cruel outrages, which have been perpetrated in the County of Antrim by a small banditti, the principals of which have been since apprehended, the North has not been years tranquil, the people more industrious, and the linen manufacture at any former period as prosperous.

I am sorry that the same disposition cannot be relied on in the other provinces. The examples which have been made, and are daily making, have, in a great measure, restored tranquillity; but the principles and inclinations of the lower orders are unreclaimed. The organisation much broken, but still enough remains and is encouraged by the inferior priests, to render a formidable insurrection inevitable,

enemy [redacted] in force. The removal of the State prisoners from Dublin [redacted] an immediate [redacted] sensible good effect. The [redacted] arrests, and the means opened through Prussia of getting rid of our convicts, [redacted] produced a strong impression; but nothing could have proved [redacted] but the power of summary punishment. [redacted] completely settled the question of authority. Before this [redacted] was adopted, between the system of terror established by the disaffected and [redacted] prospect of insecurity in [redacted] ordinary [redacted] of law, the power of the Rebels was [redacted] looked up to for protection than that of [redacted] State.

[redacted] Lord-Lieutenant received yesterday by the express your Grace's despatch of [redacted] 30th. It is a great satisfaction [redacted] Excellency to find that your Grace so perfectly coincides in opinion with him, [redacted] to the [redacted] which it becomes the King's Government to take at this moment towards those gentlemen holding offices who have failed in what they owed the Crown on a late occasion. It is his Excellency's intention, before he dismisses them, to [redacted] to the principal friends of Government the grounds upon which the [redacted] is taken, in order that they may be strongly impressed not only that this act of authority, which undoubtedly commits the Government with a very weighty and formidable party in the State, has his Majesty's entire sanction and that of his ministers, but that they have unequivocally the whole weight of the [redacted] Government at their back, in the contest in which they are engaged. I [redacted] trouble your Grace, in a day or two, with some observations upon the state of parties [redacted] to Union.

In the mean time, I have the honour, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

[redacted] *Earl of Altham to .*

Westport House, June 5, 1799

My [redacted] Sir—I [redacted] infinitely obliged by your [redacted] attention [redacted] my letter. Regularity, though generally desirable,

¹ Probably [redacted] Marshall.

The zeal and rancour of the parties on both sides is to be lamented : [REDACTED] are completely committed ; and the beaten party [REDACTED] give up, for a considerable time, [REDACTED] least, power, [REDACTED] quence, even comfortable residence. We [REDACTED] such barbarians [REDACTED] that we cannot [REDACTED] [REDACTED] opinion, [REDACTED] on politics, without quarrelling.

Many thanks for your [REDACTED]. We [REDACTED] here quite quiet, [REDACTED] I never [REDACTED] [REDACTED] people [REDACTED] active in their industry. The high price of [REDACTED] commodities [REDACTED] market is a fine inducement [REDACTED] exertion, and a fortunate one too, while the minds of the multitude [REDACTED] balancing between labour and robbery.

Believe me, &c.,

ALTAMONT.

Captain Moon, in the *Melampus*, is, I understand, in Black Sod Harbour. The captain of the Revenue Cutter has prevailed upon the Commissioners to order the cutter from hence to Dublin, for repairs. Desire Mr. Cooke not to let him on any account be called away ; he is of great [REDACTED] here in looking out, and his wants are mere pretext ; but, at all events, can [REDACTED] any time be better done than now.

Lord Downshire to Lord Castlereagh.

June 8, 1799.

My Lord—I had the honour of receiving your Lordship's letter yesterday evening, in [REDACTED] to which I beg leave [REDACTED] that, from the appearance of the country, I think nothing is to [REDACTED] apprehended from the races being [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Downpatrick [REDACTED] month. Could I have been consulted, I [REDACTED] have preferred not having two meetings of the Royal Corporation [REDACTED] Horse-breeders in [REDACTED] year, but to have divided [REDACTED] two lapsed King's Plates so as to have three this year [REDACTED] the Maze, and next year three [REDACTED] Downpatrick ; but, as the Corporation fixed otherwise, it had better be [REDACTED] they have determined. [REDACTED] only danger is, that a drop of whiskey may revive the ideas of

Union and Orangeman, a Papist, after the racing is over. Sharkey is a very important gentleman, need not, I think, have troubled your Lordship. It is in general understood in the country that Lord [redacted] would give the [redacted] lapsed King's Plates, that he had done so [redacted] Curragh, and that [redacted] induced the Corporation of Horse-breeders to come to the resolution they did.

A [redacted] of the [redacted] of Rainey, for the apprehension of whom there is a reward offered, has [redacted] to give himself up to me, [redacted] give [redacted] the information in his power, acknowledges he was a United Irishman, a Lieutenant in Todd's company; [redacted] he [redacted] the Ballynahinch battle, long before which time he repented of his conduct, [redacted] withdrawn himself from all meetings; that, when he [redacted] ordered to join his company for the Saintfield fight, he withdrew to Drumara; that a message was sent there to him, that, if he did not immediately join, [redacted] father, mother, his wife and children, [redacted] the property of both, should be immediately destroyed, and he, if ever caught, should be hanged. Under these apprehensions, [redacted] returned home, and went to the Ballynahinch battle, from which he [redacted] as he possibly could. His father is a very decent countryman, as is his wife's father; neither of them [redacted] sworn, but loyal to the utmost extent: Rainey's uncles [redacted] also loyal, wealthy, well-behaved people. His wife has been shot through the leg, and his mother narrowly escaped being shot by [redacted] yeomen, who [redacted] into the house; [redacted] the young [redacted] been hiding ever since the [redacted] of Ballynahinch. [redacted] Excellency should think fit to grant this man a pardon, I can take bail for one or two thousand pounds for his good behaviour for any time. I have here stated all I know of this young man, which I have learned from his relations. If there [redacted] no [redacted] informations, [redacted] of a graver nature, [redacted] against him, of which I know nothing, I think his pardon might be of use in Castlereagh, where he lives.

Whilst I have the pen in my hand, I beg leave to trespass upon your Lordship a little longer, to state a great grievance ~~the~~ ~~the~~ part of ~~the~~ world labours under, which, ~~it~~ possible, ought ~~to~~ be stopped, that is, the sale of the gold coin. When Government thought fit, two ~~or~~ three years ~~ago~~, ~~to~~ encourage ~~the~~ circulation of ~~the~~ paper, ~~the~~ traffic began. I gave all the assistance I could to Government in their object, and took ~~the~~ paper in my office for rent, which I ~~now~~ continue to do, which, I believe, ~~some~~ of my neighbours do. I understand Lord Hertford, Lord Donegal, Lord Londonderry, &c., ~~do~~ have and do not ~~use~~ any paper for their rents; but now I cannot pay ~~a~~ ~~sum~~ to any tradesman in Belfast ~~in~~ country, in Bank notes, without allowing from threepence to eightpence in every guinea. I understand it is the ~~case~~ in the pay of the army. The conduct of the Bank of Ireland is ~~an~~ illiberal, if not illegal, and, besides, take so ~~many~~ pains to stop forgeries upon them, that I shall no longer take their paper ~~at~~ rent in my office. There ~~is~~ scarce a remittance made to Dublin but two or three notes ~~are~~ returned as forged. They have left off defacing the note, indeed, ~~as~~ they used to do, by which ~~a~~ poor honest ~~man~~ lost eight five-pound notes that my agent recovered from him; but he had not taken ~~the~~ ~~same~~ precaution my agent did, as the notes ~~were~~ defaced by an oiled red stamp that he could not ~~read~~ ~~the~~ paper, and those that he thought had paid them to him denied that these notes ~~were~~ those they paid him. I have ordered ~~the~~ notes ~~to~~ be taken, till ~~some~~ means ~~are~~ devised to prevent the gross imposition of paying for gold.

I beg pardon for troubling your Lordship with ~~my~~ long letter, but ~~I~~ thought it right to inform you of this ~~the~~ circumstance, ~~as~~ ~~I~~ deem it very injurious to the country, and there are scoundrels who ~~are~~ about ~~the~~ country collecting guineas ~~from~~ the poor people, and then sell them to the best advantage, and ~~the~~ ~~is~~ a very profitable traffic.

I hope Lady Castlereagh is well; ~~as~~ she honours ~~me~~ ~~with~~ Races with her presence, I hope my house is so far finished as

to enable me to offer her your Lordship a well-aired bed
Hillsborough.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

DOWNSHIRE.

I beg leave to trouble you a letter to Mr. Pollock, post letters delivered in Dublin but to the of State, and business requires as possible. I should be obliged to your Lordship to decide to be done in racing, if possible, by return of post.

The Roman Catholic Bishops of Scotland to Sir J. C. Hippisley.¹

Edinburgh, June 19,

Most dear Sir — Only two days ago, the Lord Advocate found leisure to give us an audience, and this morning our finally adjusted. Though you will probably know the terms which were settled, we thought it our duty to let you know them from ourselves.

We are allowed such a sum for the support of clergy with what we have of our own, enable us to give each of them, according to our present number, £20 yearly, with a small balance to be reserved for other exigencies, as mentioned to you in a former letter would be necessary. of the vicars get £100, and each of the coadjutors £50; also £50 are allowed for each of Colleges, to help their yearly

¹ This gentleman, in early life, was engaged in the Company's service in India. On his return to Europe, he was employed in various diplomatic negotiations, and created a baronet in 1796. He resided several years in Rome, and, from his acquaintance with the highest ecclesiastical personages there, obtained such an insight into the principles and practices of their Church as rarely falls to the lot of a foreigner, a layman, and a The numerous papers from his pen inserted in this collection bear ample testimony to this effect. He was chiefly through his instrumentality that King George III. was induced to grant a provision to the Cardinal of York, the last of the Stuart race, who had been reduced almost to poverty by the French on their invasion of the papal territories.

support, and £600 are to be given to each, to defray the debts incurred in their erection. You easily conceive how great a consolation and intelligence gave us, to ourselves and clergy, by your singular assistance from our generous benefactors, to raise us to a comfortable situation from almost absolute poverty. It was what greatly enhanced the favour in the amiable and endearing manner in which your Lordship communicated the intelligence to me. He seemed even overjoyed to have had me in his power to do what he was pleased to call an act of justice. He did not omit giving me to know how much we were indebted to your exertions in our favour. We well knew before, but we are very much at a loss to know how to express the feelings of our heart towards you, our best of friends.

Be assured, dear sir, that we shall never forget what we owe to you for the disinterested friendship you have shown us; but, being unable to make any suitable return for so much goodness, all that remains is earnestly to recommend you and yours to that Supreme Being, who never fails amply to reward even a cup of cold water given to his servants in their distress, and who alone is able to reward you for the charity you have shown to me and our brethren.

We had many thoughts of writing a letter of thanks to our generous benefactors, his Majesty's Ministers; but, not being accustomed to write to those in their high station, and unwilling to intrude upon their precious time, we hope you will take the trouble to inform them of the grateful acknowledgments we have of their goodness and generosity, and that we shall never be wanting in giving every proof in our power of our loyal attachment to our most gracious Sovereign, and of promoting the good among our people, both on public and private occasions.

We have the honour to be, with every sentiment of gratitude and respect, dear sir,

Your most obedient and obliged humble servants,

GEORGE HAY.

JOHN CHISHOLM.

Right Hon. George Lord Castlereagh.

Treasury Chambers, 21, 1799.

My dear Lord—I am really concerned to trouble you about matters, but it is unavoidable from the incessant applications we have about the Princes and the Naval Peers. No difficulty will be here about the King's letter exempting Pensions of the latter from Absentee Tax, if there is a power to enable it: the enclosed paper, marked Ireland, contains a statement by one of the clerks in your office of the two Acts, one of Mr. Coutts under it. Pray have your goodness to let me know what is to be done we have no point settled; you will see by that gentleman's letter we have peace in it is.

Most truly yours, &c.,

GEORGE ROSE.

The Enclosure marked "Ireland."

By the Act 38 George III., Cap. 5, a Tax of Four Shillings in the Pound is charged on all Salaries, Profits of Employments, Fees, and Pensions, between 25th of March, 1798, and 25th of March, 1799, unless the person do and shall live and actually reside within that kingdom for and during the space of six months. The Royal assent was given to the above Act on the 10th of March, 1798.

By the Acts of George III., Cap 70 and 71, annuities were granted to Lords St. Vincent and Duncan of £1,000 per annum each, to commence from the 18th of August, 1798, and to be paid free and clear from all Taxes, Impositions, and other charges whatsoever. The Royal assent was given to the above Acts on the 10th of October, 1798.

Coutts's Notes under it.

Though the last Act is subsequent to the former, yet, as the former lays a tax on all payments to be made to absentees

during twelve months, ending ■■■ of March, 1799, the Irish Treasury refused to pay Lord St. Vincent or Lord Duncan, with ■■■ exemption; ■■■ on the 9th of May Sir William Newcomen wrote that, to set right the error, the Irish Ministry ■■■ passed a vote in Parliament, which would answer, but ■■■ writes ■■■ the payment waits for the King's letter.

The Act imposing four shillings from the 25th of March, 1799 to 1800, I suppose is not come ■■■ from Ireland; but, ■■■ ■■■ should be found ■■■ include Lords St. Vincent ■■■ Duncan, ■■■ only give the King leave to exempt them for the said twelve months, and not for the antecedent time, and, therefore, if the ■■■ Treasury *will not* exempt them, ■■■ King *cannot*, where ■■■ their Lordships look for relief? Meanwhile, they are deprived of the payment of their duo, and the nation's benevolence ■■■ disappointed and defeated.

Lord St. Vincent's victory ■■■ the — day of —; Lord Duncan's, the 12th of October, 1798. From these periods they ought to be paid.

Mr. ■■■ should write to Lord Castlereagh to make the payment up to March, 1799; and, if the Act running from that to 1800 does not exempt them, they ■■■ wait till Parliament ■■■ to make it law for that twelve months, ■■■ well ■■■ for the time to ■■■.

Mr. Coutts's Letter enclosed.

Strand, June 20, 1799.

My dear Sir—There is no end to my trouble, ■■■ what I am obliged ■■■ give you in the business of the two Naval Peers. You write to ■■■ that the Act granting the Pensions, being subsequent to that imposing the Absentee Tax, the Pensions cannot be subject ■■■ the duty this year: but the Dublin Treasury do not think so, ■■■ will not allow of the exemption. I wish you would read what I have subjoined ■■■ the ■■■ you ■■■ and write ■■■ Lord Castlereagh, ■■■ desire he will consider ■■■ as you have done, ■■■ order the whole to be paid up ■■■ of March, 1799.

I must write to Ireland, and see to get something done in [redacted] for I shall never be able [redacted] Lord St. Vincent see that the delay [redacted] owing to no fault of mine.

Pray, my dear sir, be so good to write immediately, or [redacted] me know in case you cannot do it.

I am ever, &c.,

THOMAS COUTTS.

Endorsed, Answered June 29.—Upon inquiring [redacted] the Treasury, it appears that, upon the arrival of the King's letter, which [redacted] applied for about four or five days ago, [redacted] Pensions [redacted] be [redacted] [redacted] the present time, free of [redacted] deductions whatsoever.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, June 22, 1799.

My Lord—I [redacted] the honour of receiving by express your Grace's despatch of the [redacted], in answer to mine of the [redacted]. On [redacted] important [redacted] question of policy [redacted] that which I [redacted] the honour of submitting to your Grace, it is [redacted] peculiar satisfaction to my mind, that the line of conduct which the honour of the Crown appeared to me to require, and which the particular interests of the King's Government, with relation to the question of Union, additionally called for, should be [redacted] decidedly approved by his Majesty and his confidential servants.

I took [redacted] early opportunity of impressing the principal friends of my Government with the reasons which [redacted] induced me [redacted] recommend, and his Majesty to sanction, the removal of those gentlemen from his service who not only [redacted] in [redacted] timent with my administration on the question of Union, but who had, [redacted] [redacted] not the most respectful, [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] discuss [redacted] [redacted] which [redacted] been recommended from [redacted] throne.

I have not yet altogether [redacted] my arrangements. Your Grace may be assured of receiving the earliest intimation of the mode in which [redacted] propose to fill up the several vacancies. I [redacted] the disposition which [redacted] shall propose [redacted] [redacted] approved

by ■ Majesty. Your Grace may be assured ■ in this, ■ every ■ of my administration, my conduct shall ■ solely directed with ■ view to the general stability of the King's Government ■ the furtherance of the great object given ■ in charge.

■ have ■ for some time from addressing your Grace much in ■ ■ subject of Union. It is ■ to notice the daily variations observable in the sentiments of individuals ■ of the public, without being ■ to receive, and of course to convey, impressions in respect to the prospect of ultimate ■ cess which may ■ ■ any very certain foundation, and a truer estimate of our real progress may be perhaps better formed by a comparison of the general aspect of affairs ■ periods ■ what removed from each other.

Within the last month, I think I am justified in stating to your Grace that ■ have sensibly gained strength. Were I justified in ranking Lord Downshire amongst the friends of the measure, I should feel that our progress had been ■ considerable, ■ to induce me ■ entertain very sanguine hopes of bringing the ■ to a successful issue in the ■ of the next Session. I have this day had ■ very long conversation with his Lordship, and am sorry to observe that his language is more hostile than it ■ when I last communicated with him, and extends itself ■ the principle of the measure, as well as to the unfitness of the ■ for its execution.

Lord Downshire's sentiments ■ not likely to remain a secret, and I cannot but apprehend that they will operate ■ injuriously ■ well in discouraging, and perhaps, to a certain degree, in shaking the constancy of our friends ■ in giving ■ ■ the Opposition, several of whom ■ beginning to ■ ■ moderate language since the firmness ■ well ■ the perseverance of Government ■ so distinctly marked ■ the close of the Session.

Without troubling your Grace with names, which ■ present ■ mentioned without considerable explanations, I

I with safety state the supporters of Union in Commons from 149, which number they were in my last despatch, 165. The increase is partly acquired from the numbers stated as against, partly from reckoned doubtful. my Downshire persevere in his present indisposition measure, I trust he may least induced to leave friends, as he on the late occasion, to pursue their own line, in which should divide his strength, which not, the present Parliament, exceed votes.

Having stated to your Grace the result of our exertions, as far Parliament is concerned, I wish to give you some of the prospects we have out of doors. I feel the direction of the public sentiment superior in importance to every other object, and shall leave effort unmade to turn it to advantage. Every publication of merit has been systematically and most extensively circulated, and certainly with the best effects: I have earnestly recommended it to the friends of Government to exert themselves during the summer in their several Counties, and have urged them, without risking popular meetings, obtain declarations similar to those of Cork and Galway in favour of the measure.

efforts necessary to procure these declarations have roused friends to exertion, and inspired them with proportionate zeal; and find in the counties in which it has been successfully tried that it has been not less useful in pledging individuals in favour of the than in disposing the timid to declare themselves, and will only encourage justify the opponents of question in Parliament in change of conduct.

Our situation in the Counties at present nearly follows. Galway, King's County, Mayo, Kerry have already come forward; Cork, Mayo, and Kerry, with unanimity sampled, on any public measure. We expect have nearly equal success in Clare, Derry, Tipperary, Waterford, and

Wexford. We reckon the strength divided in different degrees and of course the point is to be contested, in Antrim, Armagh, Donegal, Down, Kilkenny, Leitrim, Limerick, Longford, Monaghan, Meath, Queen's County, Roscommon, Sligo, Tyrone, Westmeath. In Carlow, Cavan, Dublin, Fermanagh, Kildare, Louth, Wicklow, we reckon little strength, of course can look only to time for making an impression. The temper of Dublin remains strongly adverse, but not in degree it did. Some of the commercial body have altered their sentiments. Dublin is without materials a counter-party, which I have sanguine hope of collecting, if my endeavours to produce a schism in the Corporation should prove successful.

Your Grace is thoroughly impressed with the various difficulties, which present themselves in the prosecution of so important a change in the frame of any country, that it is unnecessary for me to guard your Grace against drawing too flattering conclusions from any facts I have stated, which, in truth, appear to me not to warrant more than a determination to persevere.

I cannot conclude this despatch without submitting your Grace suggestions, with a view to the prosecution of the measure. The period of bringing forward the question necessarily depend on the future temper of Parliament and of the country. Should both be ripe for such a proceeding, I conclude your Grace would not consider it wise to hazard by any delay a change of sentiment; and that you would recommend assembling of Parliament without loss of time. When that much may arrive, it is impossible to foresee; but it appears to me desirable that every detail connected with the measure should be prepared without delay, and that all points which will remain to be settled by Commissioners named in part of respective countries, the general resolutions been agreed to, should be all privately reviewed and digested, under the direction of Minis-

ters, by a very few of those persons who are likely afterwards to be employed in conducting the formal treaty. No delay need then occur in the execution of the measure. The period of the conferences between the Commissioners, which is an awkward moment of suspense and cabal, both in and out of Parliament, would be materially abridged; the persons so employed would guide the respective Commissioners more certainly afterwards to a unanimous decision, having more opinion of forming common opinions, than they would enter into the treaty without any previous intercourse.

Should the idea of the approbation of your Grace, I beg to suggest that Mr. Beresford and Mr. Corry should, at such time as your Grace should think fit to appoint, be desired to go over to London. Mr. Beresford, I find, is particularly engaged with private business, which will necessarily detain him in Ireland for the six weeks; but his arrangements would admit of his attending your Grace's about the of August. I mention these gentlemen most conversant with the detail which is to be gone into, wishing to give the Chancellor or any other member of the Government the trouble of going over—*unless your Grace upon consideration is necessary*—upon investigation merely preliminary, and principally relative to trade and finance. It is also perhaps desirable that the business should be transacted so as not to attract the public attention. I should wish Lord Castlereagh to be present; and he will regulate his departure in conformity to your Grace's instructions.

The period should be acceptable to your Grace, Lord Castlereagh would be enabled to carry over the result of the Assizes, which will probably be an occasion to the parties of trying their strength on the question; Ministers would have full time to decide on the expediency of calling the Parliament at Christmas, and raising their supply; or, I thought inexpedient, as delaying the much, may remain open for the united Parliament. Objections

certainly attach ■■■ latter suggestion, but ■■■ in themselves ■■■ to the success of the main question as risking a by-■■■ in a country peculiarly ignorant ■■■ liable to be strongly excited on a question so strongly coming home to their feelings.

In a pecuniary point of view, Mr. Pitt may perhaps be the better reconciled to this delay, from the probability there ■■■ that ■■■ considerable saving ■■■ arise (from the reduction of the Army) in the Estimates of this year; from the prospects we have of being able to make even a larger loan in the Irish market ■■■ year than ■■■ obtained this year; ■■■ from the peculiarly flourishing situation of the Revenue.

I am happy to have it in my power to state to your Grace ■■■ the Revenue of ■■■ current year promises to exceed the Revenue of the last in a sum considerably beyond what the Revenue of 1798 exceeded that of 1797. The excess of 1798 above 1797 ■■■ about half a million; that of 1799, between the 25th of March and the 10th of August, has risen to £300,000 above the excess of ■■■ year; and the remainder of the year may reasonably be expected to be proportionably much ■■■ productive, ■■■ the payments on the Window Tax, which, it is supposed, will produce above £100,000, have not yet been brought into the collection.

The three ■■■ cannot fail ■■■ diminish very materially the amount of the loan which Great Britain will be ■■■ to raise for the service of Ireland, and this consideration may possibly induce your Grace and Mr. Pitt ■■■ it inexpedient ■■■ this subject on the Irish Parliament, ■■■ they shall have been brought to decide, in the first instance at least, ■■■ the general principle of Union.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

Mr. King^a to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

Whitehall, June 27, 1799.

My Lord—Enclosed I send you the Report of a lady just arrived from France. From the manner in which she gave it

^a One of the Under-secretaries to the Duke of Portland in the Home Department.

to me, and from her answers to all the questions I put to her, I am certainly disposed to credit that part of it which is stated to be of her own knowledge. I have the honour, &c.,

J. KING.

Report of M^{rs} De Matheray.

That she arrived at Paris from Geneva, in company with Monsieur de Roveray on the 1st inst., and remained there till the 14th—That in Lyons, which she found full of emigrant Swiss and aristocrats, she saw small parties of emigrants going to join Moreau—That at Auxerre she saw many of this description: their destination the same—That they were in the greatest distress; that she saw them lying about in the streets, and that some of the officers who were at the same inn with her said they were obliged to force the men to march, because they took every opportunity of escaping.

During her stay at Paris, domiciliary collections were made to relieve the distresses of the army—That she saw the collector of the *Contribution de Toulouze*, where she was, pay the collector—That on her way from Paris to Calais, she met only three stage-coaches, exclusive of stage-coaches—That she received on Sunday a letter from a Mr. Ruissler, a native of Mühlhausen and resident at Paris, dated the 21st instant, and also read there the Paris papers of the same date—That both her letter and the papers spoke of four Directors being dismissed, that only three of the old Directors that remained excepting the Abbé Siéyès, who had been re-elected—That she also read in the above papers that the Councils were to have their sittings permanent, and had their governors to explain the cause of the present reverse of their affairs, why their lately victorious armies were everywhere defeated.

That she received while at Paris a letter from her husband, who lives at Geneva, dated the 18th instant, stating that Moreau's head-quarters had removed to Chambéry, that his army, *armée fidèle*, consisting of 12,000 men, under Avoyer, Steiger and Colonel Roveray, had retreated into the Oberland (the higher part of the Canton of Berne).

de further states that a M. Voyrat, brother of a person of that name, who is chief clerk in the department of the Police in Paris, that the Directory had received certain intelligence of Buonaparte's death—That Massena had been obliged to cross the Aar, and to direct his retreat towards Baale, that the Swiss Directory had removed to Fribourg.

Stephen Moore, Esq. to Lord Castlereagh.

Bern, June 27, 1799.

My dear Lord—In conformity to the wish you expressed that I should impart to you what was discoverable in these parts on the grand question, I have yet only to report that, much laid at rest seems the subject, it is difficult to invite conversation upon it than afterwards to ascertain people's sentiments, but which certainly, among the intelligent and discerning, is favourable to the measure, nearly as if their minds were pretty well made up upon it. This may, in some degree, proceed from an impression, which I take to encourage, that the will positively pass, and which seems to have prevailed here for some time; so that little alternative is left to the people but to reconcile their minds to its advantages, and which they seem to do with a very good will. On the whole, any alteration in the public mind, since I was down before, is clearly on the wished-for side; and, by lending the aid others and myself are capable of, I think the southern part of the County cannot fail of being rendered almost universally well affected to the business. As any fresh ground of observation is afforded, I shall have the honour of addressing you again, and am, &c.,

STEPHEN MOORE.

Marquess of Abercorn to Lord Castlereagh.

July 2, 1799

My dear Lord—I am conscious that I have delayed much too long my acknowledgments of your polite letter. I have

never [redacted] that by steadiness and good management your Union may be accomplished, [redacted] without serious difficulty, provided fair attention be paid to the circumstances and just claims of Ireland and Irish interests. I am, therefore, glad [redacted] you have, upon reconsideration, discovered how essential it [redacted] both to put elections upon a settled footing, [redacted] [redacted] indemnify [redacted] proprietors of Boroughs, who (I may say, without reproach, [redacted] [redacted] not resist) would else have been injuriously sacrificed.

My [redacted] to show every [redacted] of confidence and esteem towards Lord Cornwallis I surely need not [redacted] County meetings (except [redacted] weapons of opposition) I [redacted] apt [redacted] think likely to do [redacted] harm than good upon almost every occasion; [redacted] it happens that all the Donegal interests you mention, except Lord Conyngham,¹ have proved themselves my enemies: but my friends and I will be ready to sign our names to and circulate [redacted] protest against the [redacted] of opposition, [redacted] [redacted] declaration of your [redacted] sentiments, and, in a post [redacted] or two, I will write to the Solicitor-general upon the subject.

I am, &c.,

ABERCORN.

Rev. Dr. Troy to Robert Marshall, Esq.

Friday, July 6, [redacted]

My dear Sir—I enclose Dr. Bray's [redacted] to my letter [redacted] the subject you mentioned to me in Lord Castlereagh's name, when I had the pleasure of seeing you last. Dr. Bray [redacted] the [redacted] O. Archbishop of Cashel. Respects to Lord Castlereagh, and believe [redacted]

Yours truly,

J. T. TROY.

[redacted] *the Rev. Dr. Troy, Dublin.*

Thursday, July 1, [redacted]

My [redacted] Doctor—I received the letter with which you [redacted] [redacted] request of Lord Castlereagh, expressing

¹ Henry, third Baron, created Earl 1797, and subsequently Marquess.

his hope that I will discreetly exert my influence in the counties of Tipperary and Waterford, to procure the signatures of respectable Catholics in favour of a Legislative Union between this kingdom and Great Britain.

I need not observe you, who know so well the dispositions of respectable Catholics, what little influence we have them in political matters, and with what reserve and secrecy we should interfere on the present occasion, in order to ensure any degree of success to it, and to avoid

If we act in any ostensible capacity in the business of Union, either by a personal signature or an address in favour of it, otherwise, in my humble opinion, instead of serving the cause, we may injure it. As far as I understand the measure, it will be productive of substantial benefits to both countries, and, therefore, it meets my good wishes, and shall have the whole of my little mite of assistance, but with due attention to the necessary cautions and hints so wisely suggested by Lord Castlereagh.

I remain, &c.,

THOMAS BRAY.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, July 8, 1799.

My Lord—I have the honour to enclose, for your Grace's information, a copy of the declarations in favour of the Union, this day published by the Counties of Kerry and Mayo. I am informed they comprehend the entire property of those counties, and that other counties will be found ready to follow the example. I submit to your Grace whether it might not be advantageous to have this introduced by a few inserted in London papers, to show to those connected with Ireland, who are in England, the measure is gaining friends, and is in some parts of the kingdom decidedly popular.

I am happy to inform your Grace that, amongst the persons to include the Archbishop of Cashel, who yes-

terday the Lord-Lieutenant should have his decided support. Although we have not had reason to apprehend much difficulty in the House of Lords, yet we consider his Grace's name a very valuable acquisition. Lord Carhampton, having disposed of his estate place at Luttreldown to Mr. White, the contractor, has, I understand, parted much of his indisposition to Union along with them, and now declares his intention of voting for the measure. He is a decided change of sentiment in two of our most determined opponents, and peculiarly advantageous at this moment, as tending to correct the bad effects resulting from the part Lord Downshire has hitherto

If your Grace could by any means prevail on Lord De Clifford to take a decided part with us, which, from some circumstances which have come to my knowledge, I should conceive not quite impossible, it would have at this moment the most salutary effects in shaking the confidence of our opponents. A very general declaration in favour of this measure has been signed in the city of [Waterford]; the county is also coming forward with great unanimity. The conduct of the city is the best surety of the public disposition being with us, notwithstanding the Corporation is strongly disposed, at all times, to disputation, and jealous to the last degree of Lord Waterford's influence. Very active measures are making against us at Limerick by Mr. Prendergast, who is the leading influence in the corporation. Lord Carhampton has gone down, and will probably, from his extensive property in the town, secure a sufficient support from that quarter.

With a view to the preparation of the bill of this which, I understand, your Grace intends to enter upon in the course of next month, if the gentlemen who have been requested to proceed from hence should think it advisable, and if your Grace would consider what documents may be wanting from the country, we would have the goodness to

furnish me with a schedule of such papers as may be required. I will take care to have them prepared in time, so as that no delay need occur in the transaction of the business from references to Ireland for accounts.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

The Rev. Dr. Dillon¹ to the Rev. Dr. Troy.

Cong. July 8, 1799.

Rev. and Dear Sir—On receipt of your last letter, I wrote to Dr. Reilly and to Dr. Bray, formerly my Metropolitan, whom I am in the habit of consulting on every important occasion, to request their advice. That I, who am the youngest, and, in every sense of the word, the last of our Archbishops, should be the first to sign these resolutions, would, I apprehended, be considered the height of rashness and imprudence. I have waited from day to day for Dr. Bray's answer, but have not heard from him; he is probably employed in visiting some remote parishes of his diocese. Dr. Reilly is of opinion that I should sign the resolutions. I perceive, however, that by such a step I would draw upon myself the disapprobation of a large portion of the inhabitants of this diocese, and I am certain that our Bishops could not effectually promote any great measure which Government may adopt for the benefit of this country, by not appearing publicly to take an active part in the present political contest. It would also give a handle to the enemies of subordination, who have already endeavoured to counteract any little exertions which I may have employed to bring the people to a sense of their duty by styling me an Orange Bishop, the tool of Government, well paid for my services, &c. These considerations, together with the difficulties in which, by such a precedent, I should probably involve some of my brethren,

¹ Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam.

more immediately exposed to the wrath of our ██████████ than I ██████████ left me wavering and uncertain ██████████ many days. Supported, however, by your sanction and that of Dr. Reilly, I ██████████ I may venture to request of your Lordship to sign it for me. My Vicar-general ██████████ Dean have already signed. I have also, ██████████ my last, spoken ██████████ Roman Catholic gentleman on the subject. Mr. Crana, of Boulaby, tells me ██████████ he ██████████ signed. Mr. Lynch, of Clogher, refuses ██████████ sign, without assigning any motive. Thomas Dillon, of Farm Hill, a gentleman of landed property, requests that his name may be ██████████ to ██████████ list.

I am actually employed in performing a very painful duty, visiting the parishes which have contracted the greatest weight of guilt during the late rebellion.

I have the honour to be, with the highest veneration,

Your ██████████ humble servant,

EDWARD DILLON.

Mr. King ██████████ Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, July 10, 1799.

My Lord—I ██████████ directed, by the Duke of Portland, to inform you that, ██████████ appearing by letters from the Lieutenant-Governor of Fort George that Mr. Roger O'Connor ██████████ in a very infirm ██████████ of health, his Grace is of opinion that it will be ██████████ ██████████ Mrs. ██████████ O'Connor should be made acquainted therewith, and at the ██████████ time informed that his Grace has given direction ██████████ the Governor that she ██████████ be admitted ██████████ ██████████ with her husband, should ██████████ ██████████ desirous ██████████ so doing.

Your Lordship will be pleased to cause this to be communicated to her in such manner as you ██████████ judge to be ██████████ advisable,

██████████ ██████████ honour to be, &c.,

J. KING.

The Rev. Dr. Troy to Robert Marshall, Esq.

North King Street, Dublin,

Saturday Evening, 8 o'clock, July 12, [redacted]

My [redacted] Sir—The enclosed from Dr. Dillon, my most rev. comper of Tuam, is just come to [redacted] It is out of my power to speak to you on the subject of [redacted] until after my return from [redacted] country, whither I [redacted] proceed to-morrow, though Sunday, [redacted] early hour, and [redacted] be absent for [redacted] few days. You may write to [redacted] at *Kilcullen* Monday and Tuesday next—I mean, by the post on those days.

From the enclosed you will perceive I have [redacted] inattentive to Lord Castlereagh's commission, communicated to me by you [redacted] time ago. Best respects to his Lordship. I lately sent you a letter on the same subject, from Dr. Bray, of Cashel. You [redacted] authorized to affix Dr. Dillon's and [redacted] namesake's, Thomas Dillon, Farm Hill, to the Mayo address, [redacted] resolutions, which have appeared in the prints. Dr. Dillon's signature is thus:—Edward Dillon, D.D., Rom. Cath., A. B. Tuam.

Lord Glentworth¹ wrote to me from Limerick, requesting I would express my favourable opinion of the Union in [redacted] few lines to his Lordship, which he might show to [redacted] respectable persons who would, he said, be influenced thereby. I [redacted] cordingly wrote to his Lordship, as he wished, [redacted] the [redacted] instant.

I thank you for your early intelligence of Colonel Craufurd's despatch, announcing Kray's victory [redacted] Maedonald, and I hope it will be [redacted] officially confirmed.

Be assured of the sincerity with which I remain

Yours, &c.,

J. T. TROY.

Lord Castlereagh to the Lord Primate of Ireland.

[redacted] Castle, July [redacted]

My Lord—Feeling extremely anxious to give [redacted] more early [redacted] the object of the late Primate's bequest [redacted] the [redacted] Henry, second Baron, afterwards created Earl of Limerick.

rangement which your Grace was consulted previous your leaving town, I have enclosed plan Lord-Lieutenant's consideration, and His Excellency favourably of outline. May I request your favour me with your the subject, previous to its being submitted the consideration of his Majesty's Ministers?

I am think the proposed scheme would not only provide University, materially improve the schools, which I conceive to be at present rather injured than benefitted by the extensive endowment connected with them. The schools, in my mind, ought be connected with the University, and made subject to the visitation. The salary the not to be of sufficient amount to be an object to any man who did not rely on his exertions for his income. If this plan should be decided on, enough might be done immediately by charter secure the legacy, and arrangements be completed in the of the Session. It is, of course, to be understood that the profits of the present incumbents in the several schools should not suffice during their incumbency.¹ I have the honour to remain, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Balstrode, Friday, July 19, 1799,

Midnight.

Although, I understand, that the intelligence which I have communicate to your Excellency has not gained much credit any where, and that the authenticity is doubted the Admiralty than elsewhere, it too immediately concerns Kingdom which your Excellency presides for me withhold or delay making you acquainted with it.

town, which was not till after four o'clock this afternoon, a letter has been received from Lieutenant-General Oyler, commander-in-chief of Majesty's troops Portugal,

plan for the proposed University, referred to letter, must, I presume, be that which is inserted in the Supplement to the year

dated Lisbon, the 7th instant, which states that, in consequence of various reports [redacted] he had heard of [redacted] combined [redacted] of France and Spain having put to sea from Carthage-
na [redacted] the [redacted] June, he [redacted] [redacted] to Mr. de Pinto on the subject, the substance of whose answer [redacted] that [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] received [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] only that the enemy's squadrons, consisting of 40 ships of the line and [redacted] frigates, would be ready for sea by the end of June; that their destination was unknown, but that it [redacted] thought [redacted] be Ireland; but that, by private letters of the [redacted] instant from Madrid, which had been received [redacted] morning by several individuals [redacted] Lisbon, [redacted] [redacted] said that the French and Spanish squadrons [redacted] actually put [redacted] sea, but without naming the day [redacted] which they sailed. Mr. de Pinto added that he had no official information of the position of Lord St. Vincent's fleet, but that there [redacted] flying reports from Spain, which stated it to [redacted] cruising off Alicant.

Lest your Excellency should be inclined to suppose, either from the nature of this information or the despatch which I have used in transmitting it to you, that it has created any such sensation in the breasts of his Majesty's confidential servants with respect to the safety [redacted] [redacted] the tranquillity of Ireland [redacted] [redacted] incline them to imagine that it may be [redacted] [redacted] any additional precautions, or not to lessen your military force, I think it due to your Excellency that [redacted] should remove every possibility of doubt in that respect, by explicitly stating to you [redacted] there does not appear to be any [redacted] for altering [redacted] destination of the corps which [redacted] [redacted] under orders to leave Ireland, or for suspending their embarkation for a single moment.

I have the honour, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Lord Cornwallis to [redacted] of Portland.

Private.

[redacted] Castle, July [redacted] [redacted]

My Lord—Since I last [redacted] your Grace, [redacted] tranquillity of [redacted] country has been uninterrupted, [redacted] there [redacted]

whole, rather favourable, wishing [REDACTED] have their trade secured, which they do not feel, notwithstanding the Speaker's argument, [REDACTED] be independent of Great Britain.

The speech which was delivered in Parliament by Lord Minto¹ has been very extensively circulated, and [REDACTED] made a very deep impression in this kingdom. The liberal and conciliating tone in which his Lordship argues the question, has induced many persons to give his reasoning the credit of their concession. The public sentiment is visibly softened [REDACTED] the measure, but [REDACTED] there [REDACTED] little zeal amongst its supporters, and we must be prepared to encounter [REDACTED] the difficulties attendant [REDACTED] so extensive a change, which is to be worked in a great measure against the private feelings and interests of those in whom the political authority of the country at present resides.

I have the honour, &c.,

Lord Castlereagh [REDACTED] the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, July 20, 1792.

My Lord—Although we cannot as yet [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] have divided the corporation of Dublin on the question of Union, yet I think the proceedings of yesterday prove that there is [REDACTED] hesitation in that body to act up to their former declarations, which [REDACTED] a change of sentiment as approaching, and which, I trust, may be improved upon. A motion [REDACTED] agreed to in the Commons, that the freedom of the City should be presented to Mr. Saurin for his manly resistance of a Legislative Union with Great Britain, and that the [REDACTED] should be presented by the Mayor and Corporation, with their regalia, &c. [REDACTED] resolution, being sent up to the board of Aldermen, Alder- [REDACTED] Alexander (on whose influence [REDACTED] have principally [REDACTED] in making [REDACTED] impression) stated his readiness to give the freedom of the City to Mr. Saurin, as a very deserving loyal

¹ Sir [REDACTED] Elliott, created 1797 Baron Minto, and, after having merited such distinction by his services, raised to the title of Earl of [REDACTED]

citizen, but that he must object to its being granted on the ground of opposition to the Union, as well as being presented with any unusual marks of respect. His motion, to a simple vote of freedom, carried without a division. I understand he had a majority of two on the Board. This vote being down, the Commons put up another Resolution, earnestly requesting that the freedom should be presented with a suitable address, which application also negatived. Not thinking it prudent to try their strength on the present occasion any further, several of Alderman Alexander's friends withdrew, after which several resolutions against the were sent up, which also also rejected, but to which the Board (the opposite party being numerous) sent down a reply, desiring not to be understood as having relinquished their former sentiments. Upon the whole, your Grace will, I am persuaded, be of opinion that, when contrasted with the warmth of their former proceedings, this change is important, and that it is material even to have operated so far on the most hostile corporate body in the kingdom.

As yet I have heard of no hostile proceedings at any of the Assizes that have been held in the Queen's County. Sir John Parnell and Mr. Pitt stated to the Grand Jury their strong disapprobation of the measure, but declined disturbing the County with any meeting upon it. The Assizes of Louth are over, but I have not heard what has passed.

We are using every effort to bring forward the several Counties; and, upon the whole, our prospects are favourable. I have the honour to enclose a newspaper, in which your Grace will observe declarations most respectably signed. From the city of Waterford a similar declaration this day transmitted by Lord Ormonde,¹ from the Catholics of Kilkenny. I entertain sanguine hopes that we have sufficient strength in Tipperary to carry a County Meeting in favour of Union. Although, in general, we have preferred showing strength

¹ Walter, eighteenth Marquess.

by signatures in this important county, it will be very material ■ instruct the County Members, who both voted against us ; as this very unconstitutional practice ■ but too prevalent ■ Ireland, ■ is ■ to turn it to advantage if we can.

I trust Tipperary is not the only county in which we ■ ■ able to avail ourselves of ■ expedient to release County ■ from ■ embarrassment of their former precipitancy.

I forbear specifying them to your Grace, ■ every prospect of ■ ■ so liable to failure, that I ■ unwilling to create an expectation which might not be fulfilled.

■ is rumoured that some attempt will be made in the County of Down ■ the Assizes against the ■ It ■ my intention ■ attend. ■ Lord Downshire encourage it, I cannot flatter myself that my presence ■ be material ; but it may check any attempt which has not his avowed support, which might otherwise succeed.

I have the honour to remain, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord De Clifford to Mr. Townshend.

King's Weston, July 28, 1799.

My dear Townshend—I have received your letter, and I am sorry to say that I feel ■ considerable degree of difficulty in what manner to ■ it. ■ will just observe that you did ■ but justice in assuring Lord Camden, “that ■ man wished more earnestly for the maintaining of connexion of Ireland with England than I did ;” but ■ the ■ of Union is of such immense moment, and appears to me fraught with ■ much danger, that I cannot help hesitating ■ giving my support to it. I am not, ■ ■ ever, much of a politician. I have ■ ability to entitle ■ to an office of importance, ■ am I in any way ambitious of honours ■ emoluments ; therefore, ■ forming ■ decisive opinion upon this great national question, ■ be actuated, I flatter myself, by ■ purest principles, ■ decide in whatever manner appears to me to be the best for the mutual interest of the two countries. I do,

and will, support the present administration, from a thorough conviction that, in so doing, I am supporting the welfare of the kingdom; but upon the question of Union, I shall be allowed to think a little for myself. I am far from presuming to imagine that I am competent to decide upon this vast measure, I have not the smallest hesitation at determining to oppose it, it appears that a great majority of the people of Ireland are against it, at a time that it must be obvious to every man that this country ought to do every thing in its power to conciliate the minds of the people of the Sister Kingdom.

With regard to the measure itself, supposing the nation, or the Parliament, should be induced to adopt it, I much fear that the great number of absentees which would immediately follow its being carried into execution would be much more likely to occasion the rebellion's breaking out afresh, than it would tend to restoring peace and quietness, even the majority of the well affected in favour of it. It is a well-known fact to those that are at all acquainted with the interior of Ireland, that a very great majority of the people look upon the proprietors of the land of the country as a set of usurpers, and have been ready (time immemorial) to rise and wrest their property from them at the first opportunity. I am perfectly convinced that the salvation of the country during the late rebellion (which, by the bye, I fear is not suppressed, but barely smothered) was due to the personal exertions of the country gentlemen in devoting their whole time, their lives, and their properties, to keeping their tenantry and neighbours in order, than we do to the great military force that was brought into the kingdom. If, by forcing a Union upon this country, you disgust the better part of these gentlemen and convert the other half into absentees, you will leave the country a prey to the machinations of the disaffected, and the consequence I fear would be the same. By bringing forward this question at a time that the rebellion is not suppressed, and the popular clamour against it, you give every rascal in the kingdom an

opportunity of calling himself a loyalist, and declaring himself ready to rise up and die in defence of the independence of Ireland in support of the Parliament. I have frequently heard those who are fond of the measure instance the prosperity of Scotland since it has been united to England. That it has improved in manufactures and agriculture, increased in wealth, &c., &c., since the Union, I have no doubt; but I do very much doubt whether it would not have improved just as much without it. At the same time, I am perfectly satisfied that a Union with Scotland is a very politic and wise measure. I conceive that, in Scotland, at the time of the Union, a great part of the powerful proprietors of land were attached to the Pretender; that the great body of the people did not follow the king, but followed the head of their clan to whichever party he pleased. It consequently was a desirable object to carry any measure into execution which should attract the rich and powerful to the British Court, and the natural consequence of it was their by degrees attaching themselves to it. The very measure appears to me to be the best policy for Ireland. The landed interest you have already attached to you, both from principle and interest. The great body of the people are against you, and I should therefore think that, instead of holding out inducements to them to leave it, you ought rather to give them every encouragement to reside upon their estates, and guard the mutual interests and connexion of the two kingdoms, where they have most power to do it with effect.

Lord Castlereagh informs me that "it is intended that the counties should return two members, as at present; that the populous cities and towns should return one member each, and the rest of the boroughs be classed as in Scotland, making a proportionate compensation to the proprietors." Though I solemnly declare I would not hesitate a moment sacrificing my borough interest if I was convinced the measure was for the public good, I cannot be expected (entertaining the doubts that I do respecting it,) to be wholly unmindful of my private

interest, I should wish much to know in what light my boroughs would be looked upon according to my plan. With the other boroughs in their respective counties, they would no longer be of any value whatever to me; and neither of them what can be called close boroughs, though I have the smallest fear of losing the nomination of in of them, as long things remain they are, I have my doubts whether I should be thought entitled to any compensation whatever for the great Parliamentary interest I should immediately lose upon such being carried into execution.

I have freely stated to you some of the objections I to a Union; nevertheless, if it appeared that a decided majority of the landed interest in favour of it, I should be inclined to give up my opinion to that of administration of whom I think so highly the present.

After all, I should not choose to come to any determination just now. I shall set off for Ireland upon business on Saturday or Sunday next, and shall be absent about six weeks. I shall, of course, during my stay there, take an opportunity of paying my respects to the Lord-Lieutenant, and shall also Lord Castlereagh, if he is in Ireland. On my return, you shall hear from me. After having consulted with my friends in Ireland, I shall probably be able to to final determination. I been prepared to say anything decisive upon the subject, I should have been particularly happy to have had opportunity of communicating immediately with Lord Camden. attention and assistance I received from his Lordship while in Ireland I ever remember with gratitude; and I with many others, bear witness to having conducted of Ireland, the popular times, with ability firmness, retaining a personal popularity which many other Lords-Lieutenant could not attain in much quieter times.

I am, &c., &c., &c.,

CLIFFORD.

Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, July 1799.

My Lord—Having communicated to the Duke of Portland your Lordship's letter of 1st inst, enclosing those from Mr. and Mrs. O'Connor, I have his Grace's direction to acquaint you, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, that Mrs. O'Connor will be allowed to have every access to her husband that the circumstances of the and Mr. O'Connor's situation will allow of, but that, for the present, it must be Fort St. George, where Mr. O'Connor is confined.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. KING.

Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret.

Whitehall, July 24, 1799.

My Lord—Enclosed I transmit to your Lordship, by direction of the Duke of Portland, the latest intelligence that has been received relative to the Spanish and French fleets, which sailed from Carthagena on ult., for the information of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant.

I am, the time, I enclose, for his Excellency's information, a copy of the intelligence which I have at this moment received from Captain Mumford, relative the proceedings of the Irish Committee at Paris.

In receiving the Lord-Lieutenant's directions with respect to part of the information which the residence of O'Mealy to in the neighbourhood of Donaghadee, and intention of coming here to communicate with Malone, Duke of Portland wishes it be considered whether will not advisable to allow O'Mealy to carry part of his intention into effect, and that a trusty person should follow him, step by step, with orders to give immediate notice of arrival in this place, together with his place of abode. part of the information which relates to the to be sent from Hamburg to Ireland be communicated to the

Admiralty, in order that proper _____ may _____ taken _____ obtaining possession of the Prussian vessel which _____ have them _____ board. Should our endeavours fail, and, indeed, _____ all events, your Lordship _____ give the necessary orders, that the utmost vigilance should be exerted in looking _____ for _____ vessel off _____ coast of _____ and Carrickfergus.

I have the honour _____ be, &c.,

J. KING.

PS. Captain Mumford informs me that O'Mealy's object is to examine Ireland thoroughly, with a view to ascertaining its _____ vulnerable parts. He will not be stationary in the North of Ireland, but will be moving from _____ quarter _____ another. Captain Mumford is the Captain of _____ American vessel, who has been concerned in carrying the Irish emissaries backwards and forwards, in the course of his trade, to a considerable degree. _____ has been lately employed confidentially.

July 24, 1799.

Captain Mumford, who is just arrived from France, _____ that he left London the _____ of May (by Mr. Wickham's directions), and that he reached Paris the 14th of June, having been obliged to go round by Embden. His chief object was to wait on Bailey at Paris, in order to ascertain whether any _____ communication _____ carrying on between Lewins and his _____ ions in Ireland. He found that a well-known person (O'Mealy) _____ five days before with despatches from Lewins, Bailey, and Hamilton; that he had embarked _____ Dunkirk, _____ landed at Orfordness, and that from thence he _____ gone _____ London. These despatches _____ directed to a Mr. Malone in London, whose address Captain Mumford _____ present ignorant of, but he says that he cannot _____ discovering it, as O'Mealy (who _____ now _____ the North of Ireland, near Donaghadee) _____ meet him here, having a verbal message _____ deliver _____ him from Bailey, respecting 9000 stand of arms _____ to be sent from Hamburg _____ some place in the neighbour-

hood of Belfast. These arms, Captain Mumford says, are to be shipped on board a Prussian vessel, which is to sail very shortly to the Elbe.

The principal object of O'Mealy's mission is to ascertain the number of effective men upon whom the French government could depend, and at the same time the number of British troops (particularly the yeomanry) in Ireland, and the places in which they are stationed.

Captain Mumford says that Lewins has lately had little communication with the Directory; but he says, at the same time, that Lewins entertained the greatest hopes from the change which had been lately operated, and that he often assured him he was convinced the present rulers of France would be more favourable to the Irish cause, and act with more vigour than their predecessors.

Bailey, Lewins, and Hamilton, (who are the acting men in Paris) were of opinion that this was the moment to re-organise Ireland, and to send arms as fast as possible to their friends there, as the English Government seemed to be lulled into a sense of security, and to think they had succeeded in subduing the country, but that they would find themselves mistaken.

Bailey told Captain Mumford that they could be supplied with any quantity of arms, and that they had unlimited credit for the purchase of them and of ammunition.

Captain Mumford further states, that he believes the French fleet is ultimately destined against Ireland; that Bailey is of that opinion; and that Talleyrand himself has observed to him several times lately that Ireland is the only vulnerable part of the British Empire.

Lewins has often complained to Captain Mumford that the conduct of the French government has hitherto been so indecisive with respect to Ireland, that their projects naturally failed. Lewins told him also, that the despatches formerly addressed to Mr. Lawless, in the Temple, whose fate, Captain Mumford says, is much lamented at Paris.

There is a person of the name of Charles Campbell, pro-

priest of ██████ called Craighbourg, ██████ Donaghadee, who, Captain ██████ suspects, from the ██████ in which Bailey spoke of him, ██████ much ██████ to the ██████ cause, and who ██████ a very active agent ██████ the North.

Captain Mumford, on his way through Amsterdam, observed a brig rigged as a collier, named the Neptune, which, he understood, has done much mischief to the trade off the Coast of England. She is an English register, in case of being boarded; her ostensible crew consists of Englishmen and Americans, but there are a number of Frenchmen on board, who are always concealed in her hull. The master's name is Middleton.

N.B. O'Mealy has passed over to France several times, as passenger on board Captain Middleton's vessel : he always went by the name of Berry ; he is about five feet ten, of a polite address ; his complexion is rather fair, his hair reddish, his eyes grey, and his mouth rather large. He speaks with a Dublin accent.

The Duke of Portland to Sir J. O. Hippisley.

Bulstrode, Saturday, July 27, 1798.

My dear Sir—I return you many thanks for transmitting me the thanks of the Roman Catholic Prelates in Scotland, for the [redacted] which Government has given them in their present distress. I flatter myself, from what you have told me, that it will [redacted] the purpose of making them comfortable; but, if [redacted] gave them opulence and power into the bargain, they could not express their sense of it in more grateful and interesting terms. If you [redacted] indicate the neighbouring post town to Seaton, you will oblige me, as I [redacted] a desire not to let their letter remain long unnoticed.

There can be, and I believe there has been, but one opinion of the fairness, steadiness, and the manliness of Dr. Moylan's character, which it was agreed, by all those who had the pleasure of meeting him here, was as engaging as his person, which and bespeaks much good will can be well imagined in a human countenance.

I shall be very glad to receive from you a particular of those connected with the [redacted] arrangement which you [redacted] so very material to be [redacted] to.

I am, and shall be, in town every Wednesday till the King goes to Weymouth, and [redacted] comes up [redacted] at any time that may be more convenient to you to let [redacted] see you.

I am very sincerely, my dear Sir,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

PORTLAND.

*Extract of a [redacted] from the Right Hon. [redacted] Burke to Sir J. C. Hippisley, at Rome.*¹

London, October [redacted] 1795.

I confess I would, if the matter rested with me, enter into much [redacted] distinct and avowed political connections with the Court of Rome than hitherto we have held. If [redacted] decline them, the bigotry will be on [redacted] part, and not [redacted] that of his Holiness. Some mischief [redacted] happened, and much good, I am convinced, been prevented, by our unnatural alienation. If the present state of the world has not taught [redacted] better things, our [redacted] is very much our fault. This good correspondence could not begin [redacted] auspiciously than in the person of the *present Sovereign Pontiff*, who unites the royal and the [redacted] dotal characters with advantage and lustre to both. He is indeed a prelate whose dignity as a Prince takes nothing from his humility as a Priest, and whose mild condescension as a Christian Bishop, [redacted] from impairing, in him exalts, the awful and imposing authority of the secular Sovereign.

Private [redacted] of a letter from the Hon. and Right Rev. [redacted] Bishop of Winchester to Sir J. C. Hippisley.

Naples, September [redacted] 1795.

I have perused the papers you communicated through Sir W. Hamilton. As to open communication between [redacted]

¹ These two Extracts appear to have been enclosures in a letter of Sir J. Cox Hippisley's, of about this date; but that [redacted] [redacted] have not [redacted] [redacted] find.

and Pope, it is much to be wished, and never than present, when the piety, humanity, and liberality of Pius VI. present him us as Prince, whose friendship is an honour, and whose communication, political private, carries everything with it that is virtuous, sincere, and good. Such communication in character for both countries, and especially for princes respectively the heads of their several religious establishments. As to the laws to which you allude, I believe there is but opinion respecting the illiberal spirit of them, and the wisdom of relaxing in their enforcement. The sion of them is now removed, and without the occasion it is to justify them.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, July 29, 1799.

My Lord—The late Primate of Ireland bequeathed a sum of £5,000 to trustees, be applied to the purpose of establishing a University Armagh, provided the same should be incorporated within four years after his decease. This term will expire on the of next October, and, if an incorporation of a University at Armagh shall not take place before that day, the legacy will lapse.

It has been long considered that the establishment of a second University in this kingdom, and especially in the Province of Ulster, to assist the education of dissenters, and to promote emulation in the University of Dublin, would be of great public benefit.

The chief difficulty of forming such an establishment arose from want of sufficient funds. I therefore adverted to chief establishments of school education under Royal donation, and it has occurred that a new distribution of the funds granted by Charles the First for the establishment of five schools the Province of Ulster would, in a great form an adequate supply.

I therefore directed the enclosed outline of a plan to be prepared,¹ and, having transmitted it to the Primate for his Grace's consideration, I also communicate his Grace's private observations upon the subject. I do not present to me into any detailed considerations; but I observe that what the Primate remarks respecting the Astronomer and Librarian of Armagh does not appear to me to have such weight as to prevent their being made efficient and resident Fellows of the New University. Their institution has visibly a reference to the probability of such an institution as is recommended, and the circumstance of the patronage belonging to the Primate alone might easily be adjusted.

Neither shall I enter minutely into the subject of the proportion of dissenters to be admitted. I have held out generally to that body that there was a disposition in Government to attend to the interests of their Clergy and to their education; but I suggest that, if his Majesty shall be graciously pleased to consider them in any new establishment, it will be prudent to consult with them previously, so as to make any royal mark of favour agreeable to that body as possible.

If, upon consideration, it should appear to his Majesty advisable that a University should be founded at Armagh upon any plan similar to that which I submit, a length of period will elapse before any buildings can be fitted for the reception of Fellows and Students, and for carrying on the actual business of education. The final arrangement of details may, therefore, be for some time delayed. What will be necessary to present is, first, his Majesty's approbation of such a foundation being made; secondly, of forming an incorporation before the 10th of October, so as to prevent the lapse of the late Primate's legacy; and, in the event of receiving his Majesty's approbation, it will be easy for me to have prepared such a plan of an incorporation which will secure the legacy, will enable the institution to proceed, and to receive the aid of Parliament, and will,

¹ See Supplement to 1798.

at the same time, admit such increase and alterations as, upon the mature digestion of a final plan, shall be found most ad-
 beneficial. I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Private.

Belfast, July 1799.

Sir—I have received your favour, and have consequently made the necessary inquiries. I cannot find, through all my acquaintance, that such a person has arrived, and am satisfied if there is such a character here I must soon meet with him; as he cannot be here any time, neither can there be any landed without coming to my knowledge. Having called upon those most likely to give me satisfaction, I told them I had communication from a person in Dublin, whom I styled an agent of the Executive, that we might expect a landing of him immediately, that a person would previously land here for the purpose, and that probably he had landed to communicate, and begged they would be vigilant; therefore I am satisfied, if any person of the description is here, he has as yet made himself known. I could wish you would send a fuller description of him, particularly to his dress, of what line of to be considered, where from, from what vessel landed, and what house or place he first visited, corpulent. Certainly the person who could have exactly described him you know all this, and his place of destination. You may rely upon my exerting myself in this and every other may be of service to you. I should rather think your information not well grounded, particularly having landed.

Since I saw you last, I don't find anything doing worth noticing. A person in here from the neighbourhood of Ballymena. He wanted a plan of organization, but this I

¹ It does not appear by whom this letter was written, or to whom addressed.

refused ■■■ disapproved of. ■■■ part of the country by ■■■ report is totally disarmed and disorganized. I did not see him, but I shall be able to find him out shortly. There was a meeting last week in Dromore of the County Down Committee; ■■■ not fully attended, not more than four ■■■ five; Quin, from Crumlin, ■■■ the person who waited upon me after. He ■■■ they wished much to organize the county, and exclaimed much for ■■■ want of arms, was ordered to attend me for instructions, and, ■■■ any expectation of a landing—everything, of course, from ■■■ ■■■ him ■■■ discouraging: particularly pointed ■■■ ■■■ him the treachery of the French and the little expectations ■■■ to ■■■ had. I expect shortly to see him ■■■ ■■■ other again. I should not wish any arrests in Down for the present. I shall be very vigilant in respect to Mr. Mealy: if he is landed, he must shortly be known to some of my friends, and then you may depend I shall take ■■■ of him and the ■■■ likewise. I hope your information ■■■ in time, ■■■ nothing would give ■■■ more satisfaction ■■■ being serviceable upon so great ■■■ occasion, as it must be the forerunner of and preparatory to some great event.

Yours, &c.

Lord Castlereagh to ■■■ Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, August 3, 1799.

My Lord—I returned but ■■■ night from the North, and lose ■■■ time in troubling your Grace with the result of my excursion. My object in attending the assizes being purely defensive, of ■■■ nothing ■■■ undertaken in favour of the ■■■ ■■■ anything been brought forward against a Union by Lord Downshire's friends, ■■■ numbers would have been against us, but ■■■ minority would have been numerous, and composed of the most considerable gentlemen in the County. Whatever opposition ■■■ may experience in that quarter will be of his Lordship's creating. There ■■■ no general indisposition ■■■ the question, and, ■■■ ■■■ assistance, the County of

Down might have brought me support the measure with
unanimity. Mr. Forde is the only considerable prop-
rietor under Lord Downshire's influence, who entertained
a strong opinion against Union, and by whom I rather appre-
hended that something would be brought forward. I took the
earliest opportunity of seeing him, and so far succeeded in
reconciling him in a considerable degree.

I had much conversation with Lord Downshire. His
language is strongly adverse, more so than it was, although
he has stated either to the Lord-Lieutenant or to me his
final determination was taken to oppose the measure in
Parliament, yet I much fear, from the publicity he has given
to his opinions since he last went to the North, that it is his
intention to do so, and that he has committed himself to the
Opposition on the subject; but the latter is merely conjecture.

I think I can perceive that his Lordship is adverse
since the plan for the representation was changed: no pecu-
niary consideration ever reconciled him to the reduction of
Borough influence, which will be reduced in a much greater
degree by the arrangements at present looked to than by that
which was at first in contemplation. I am the more inclined
to suppose that his feeling of this sort has its influence, as
the arguments on which he relies in conversation do not seem
sufficiently convincing to persuade me that they have any
material weight in deciding his Lordship to separate from all
those with whom he has hitherto acted in politics.

The temper of the North generally is by no means dis-
couraging. Your Grace knows that it is the habit of
part of the kingdom to take a very lively interest in any
measure proposed by Government. Had a Union been suggested
by Opposition, as the only safe means of curing the defects in
our representation and of settling any religious differences,
I have no doubt the Province of Ulster would have been this
its support; but the people consider success in Parliament
much, of course, when the Crown is a party, and acqui-

essence on their parts is on such an occasion the most ~~mode~~ showing their approbation. The resistance ~~has~~ given to it of late has turned the public attention more to the question, and, as far as my information goes, ~~is~~ gaining friends daily.

In the City ~~County~~ of Londonderry, resolutions were passed without opposition, ~~the~~ the County of Antrim there is every appearance of the most general concurrence in its support. ~~prevailing~~ prevailing sentiment in ~~is~~ is favourable, ~~the~~ the Government may at once hope to receive support from ~~town~~ town. Donegal ~~also~~ also do well; the southern counties of the province ~~in~~ in a less manageable state, from their happening to be the residences of some of our most ~~opponents~~ opponents: but we have the satisfaction to find that nothing has been done against us at the assizes, although in Cavan an attempt ~~made~~ made by Colonel Maxwell, the Speaker's nephew.

Upon the whole, I am of opinion we shall be able to bring it to a Parliamentary question, and that the Opposition will resolve itself into the natural repugnance which private ambition and private interest may ~~to~~ to ~~a~~ which extinguishes for ever the species of Parliamentary authority which has so long prevailed in this country, and in which they ~~are~~ are much interested. Your Grace must be prepared for a ~~struggle~~ struggle, and ~~strength~~ strength will ultimately be proportioned ~~the~~ the ~~employ~~ employ to reconcile the personal interests of individuals.

~~Lord-Lieutenant's~~ Lord-Lieutenant's progress in the South has been marked with ~~most~~ most flattering proofs of public confidence, and will, I have no doubt, ~~the~~ the unquestionable decision of ~~part~~ part of the kingdom in favour of Union.

~~Excellency's~~ Excellency's return is ~~for~~ for the 12th. I conceive it will not be possible ~~me~~ me ~~receive~~ receive his commands so as ~~leave~~ leave Ireland ~~the~~ the ~~I~~ I hope the delay beyond the period that was originally mentioned will not prove inconvenient to your Grace. My detention is the less material, as

I understand Mr. Borenford cannot set out till towards the end of the month. I have the honour to remain, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

J. O. Hippisley to Lord Castlereagh.

Cannon Street, August 6, 1799.

My Lord—I have the gratification of communicating your Lordship copies of a correspondence on the subject of the Catholic Clergy in Scotland, the arrangement being now completed to their favour on the scale I have the honour to suggest to Ministers. Dr. Moylan spent nearly a week at Bulstrode; and, by the Duke of Portland's account of his guest, your Lordship will observe that the Doctor became a great and just favourite there.

I put the whole of my correspondence with Lord Hobart on the Catholic subject into Doctor Moylan's hands, and had the pleasure to find that his opinion concurred entirely with my own, with respect to the regulations I had sketched. A part of those regulations, your Lordship will recollect, went to the establishment of a check on the introduction of Rescripts from the Pope, &c., on the principle of the institutions in France, Naples, the United Provinces, &c. If such a regulation is ever deemed necessary, it becomes doubly so when the Pope is in the hands of the republican French, and we have proofs that Rescripts were exacted from us by Spain, after her invasion of her capital, which were directed to annihilate our Newfoundland Trade, as well as the extension of a supply of us in the West Indies to be considered.

I sincerely trust my Lord Cornwallis's Government and your Lordship's important situation will continue to the completion of an arrangement which is of such magnitude and importance to the future tranquillity of Ireland. In my communication with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dandridge on this subject, I told them that I considered the arrangement in Scotland as offering a good example to the Irish Catholic clergy.

The Speaker told me, some time before, that Mr. Pitt had much approved the suggestions I had offered, with respect to distinctions and checks on the Clergy. Your Lordship will permit me to quote a vulgar proverb, which is this:—"One must be aware of a bull *before*, of an ass at his *heels*, of a Friar on *all sides*." Seven years' experience on Catholic ground convinced me that this adage was well imagined.

Dr. Moylan, in all circles that Lord Cornwallis the "*Saviour of Ireland*." If your Lordship's Government carries through the Union, and gives to this Catholic regulation, the Doctor will find, if possible, some amplification of his just eulogy.

I can only say my humble services are devoted to your Lordship.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. C. HIPPIALEY.

Lord Cornwallis returned from Bognor this day, having spent a couple of months there; Dr. Moylan went off yesterday for Ireland, but I have prevailed on him to wait the return of the Secretary of War, who is anxious to see him.

Lord Howe died yesterday.

Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

Whitehall, August 18, 1799.

My dear Lord—I have just received your letter of the instant. The spirit of Rebellion seems at this moment to be so nearly exhausted in Ireland, that I dare say O'Mealy will keep himself very close, unless his expectation of seeing French or Spanish fleets may render him proceeding more visible. Captain Cooke will inform your Lordship of my having engaged Captain [redacted] himself to endeavour to get on O'Mealy's track, in which you will hear from him. Captain.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship, that the

information of Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Keith Cape Vincent the 31st of last month, steering the northward. The position of the combined fleets, your Lordship already informed, was on of month about thirty-two leagues North-west of Lisbon becalmed. therefore there a tolerably chance of our falling in with them, before they reach either Ireland or Brest. I congratulate you exceedingly on the favourable appearance of things in Ireland. remain, &c.,

J. KING.

PS. I have forwarded your Lordship's letter, giving account of the off to the Duke of Portland, who Bulstrode, and in my letter to Cooke have given the reasons why I conceive them to be only Swedes.

There Aylmer, Rebel General of the County of Kildare, who, I understand, at this walking about the of London. I should like to know from your Lordship the which this been suffered to remove himself from Ireland, or whether there be such evidence against him as induce the Lord-Lieutenant to direct that he should be sent Ireland. If he is notoriously guilty of the crimes imputed him, I should humbly submit that his continuing large such a moment as the present is not advisable.

J. K.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Castle, August 12, 1799.

My Lord—I returned to on Friday, from my southern tour, and am happy to have it in my power to convey to your Grace the most satisfactory accounts of that part of the kingdom, as well in point of tranquillity as in general good disposition towards the Government, and cordial approbation of Union. sentiment no particular description of equally pervades the Catholic and Protestant bodies; and I was much gratified

in observing ■■■ those feelings which originated with the higher orders have, in a great degree, extended themselves ■■■ body of the people.

I received, in the ■■■ of my tour, addresses from all the public bodies connected ■■■ the towns through which I passed, ■ also from those in the neighbourhood of the places where I made any stay (with the exception of those Corporations which happened to be under the influence of individuals who had taken ■ part in Parliament against the measure); they universally declared themselves most warmly and ■■■ quivocally ■ the question of Union; and, since my return, a meeting of the County of Tipperary, convened by the Sheriff, and most numerously and respectably attended, has entered into strong resolutions, and instructed their representatives to support the Union. Lord Lismore¹ and ■■■ few of Mr. Ponsonby's friends attended, but their strength ■■■ so inconsiderable, that they withdrew, and the proceeding was unanimous. The accession of Tipperary to those counties before declared, gives ■ the entire province of Munster; and its weight will be the ■■■ authoritative, as it is an inland county and not decided merely by commercial prospects.

The province of Connaught is going ■ well. The town of Galway has recalled its former decision, and declared strongly for Union. I hope the county will shortly follow this example. The ■■■ has not ■ yet made the same progress in the province of Ulster. Although ■ have very formidable opponents to contend against in that quarter of the kingdom, ■ by no ■■■ despair of the public sentiments being ultimately favourable; and, feeling strongly the importance of the object, my exertions shall be particularly directed to dispose the public mind ■ the Union. In ■ Northern Counties, ■ have already established the question strongly in Derry and Antrim.

Were the Commons of Ireland ■ naturally connected with

¹ He ■■■ to the Barony on the decease of his father, 1797, ■■■ was ■■■ ■ Viscount.

people they are in England, liable to receive their impressions, with prospects have out of doors, I the question in a great degree carried; but your so well acquainted the constitution of assembly in question to be prosecuted, how anxiously personal objects will connected which to model the public consequence of every man Parliament, and to diminish materially the authority of the powerful, that your Grace feel, however advantageous it for Government to carry the public sentiment with it, that distinct interests there be encountered, which will require the exertions and means of Government to overcome, and which may very much delay and impede the accomplishment of this great settlement. Lord Castlereagh state to your Grace, more in detail, my ideas on this part of the subject, and on which the early of the measure will, under the present appearances, absolutely and entirely depend.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

Mr. James Dawson to Mr. Robert Marshall.

Rostrevor, August 1799.

My dear Sir—I have had the pleasure of writing several letters you, but have not been favoured with a line from you since I Dublin. In my former letters I mentioned to you several gentlemen to whom I requested the pamphlets of Lord and Lord Sheffield, on the intended Union, might be sent, and any other that may have come out to to myself, with half a dozen of each of the others, directed at this place. They have not come to hand, and, if I had them, I could dispose of them with good advantage. The public mind is softening down, but great pains are taken by the Anti-Unionists to raise an alarm among the people of Ulster against question, by insinuating a Union would be the destruction of the linen trade, inasmuch

when [redacted] was [redacted] into execution, England would carry from this country [redacted] manufacture. Ridiculous as [redacted] idea [redacted] [redacted] to every man who knows any thing, yet, I assure you, among the ignorant and illiterate, it has been made [redacted] handle with some effect, [redacted] the trade, [redacted] this moment, [redacted] in so flourishing a state, that the manufacturer [redacted] [redacted] concerned in it [redacted] the [redacted] tenacious; however, [redacted] I have before observed, we must be the more alert, and the greater pains must be exerted to explain and to undeceive.

I have had a good deal of private conversation with the Peer who directs the cover of [redacted] letter; he [redacted] [redacted] present under the influence of the Speaker's politics, but I think he may be worked upon. I find men from the Counties of Cavan and Monaghan here, with whom I talked much in the beginning of July in their own counties, and found them much against the measure. I have great satisfaction in being [redacted] to tell you, that they [redacted] much brought about, and that I [redacted] sider them as gained.

I beg you will send me the pamphlets by return of post, [redacted] I want them much; and if those I have mentioned [redacted] not sent, I beg you will order them [redacted] be sent [redacted] directed; and, in addition, I have [redacted] request you will order the two pamphlets to be [redacted] to Mr. Robert Henderson, Cornescribe, Tanderagee. I intend to quit this station [redacted] [redacted] as I hear from you, and to [redacted] into the County of Armagh, and from thence [redacted] the low part of the County of Antrim, [redacted] round by the County of Tyrone, [redacted] to Armagh and Monaghan, which tour will employ [redacted] till the latter end of October. You shall hear from me occasionally, and I hope, on my return [redacted] Dublin, to have [redacted] in my power to make a very favourable report.

[redacted] first of [redacted] month is long past, but I have postponed sending you my receipt [redacted] the present moment [redacted] [redacted] stand in need of a viaticum; and I shall hope for a remittance by return of post, directed to [redacted] Rosstrevor.

Yours most faithfully, J. D.

King to Castleborough.

Private.

Whitehall, August 1799.

My Lord—Within I transmit your Lordship, of the Lord-Lieutenant, a copy of a letter which Mr. Secretary Dundas has day received from the Prince of Bouillon, enclosing a paper containing intelligence from Brest. We have not yet received any account our expedition, are, therefore, your Lordship may suppose, waiting with anxiety, although with little apprehension, result.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. KING.

Jersey, August 26, 1799.

Sir—I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency the last state of Brest that has reached me direct; I expect every moment further particulars, which I shall lose time in forwarding. It does not appear that they have many troops with them, as a report is circulated that an auxiliary army of 25,000 men is coming into France by the Pyrenees, from which they complete parties that do duty as marines in the fleet. There is nothing in the vicinity of the neighbouring coasts. The Chouans continue their partial depredations, principally directed against the public communications in the interior.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

D'AUVERGNE, Prince of Bouillon.

Substance of Communications from Brest direct, up to the 10th of August, inclusive.

August combined that has returned Admiral this port is composed as follows:—

Of Line of Battle—

French, eight of 100 to 110 upon three decks; teen from 74 to 84 guns, upon decks; of these, 17,

and Indomptable, have barbet upon their gangways, which, in effect, makes them three-deckers: total, 25.

Spanish, four from 100 to 111 guns, upon three decks; eleven from 70 to 84 guns, upon two decks: total, 15.

Total of the combined fleet returned fit for service, 40 sail of line. French, eight frigates, six corvettes, four fire-ships, and several small tenders. Spanish, four frigates, two vettes, and three store-ships, *en suite*.

There lay in the Road, when they came in, five line-of-battle ships that had been there some time, five frigates, and three

The is rigging the greatest activity, the artificers of the yard are fitting her with a barbet battery, the Formidable.

August 9th. The frigate La Vengeance hauled out of dock, and the Précieuse got into her place.

The ships Mutine and Entreprenant have been dismantled, being found unfit to keep the sea; their crews, with that of the frigate La Précieuse, are distributed between the Dugommier, Patriote, and Berwick, of 74 guns each.

The above dismantled ships still kept in the Road as receiving ships.

The ships returned, completely stored for service, from the Spanish arsenals, and their kept strictly on board, to prevent desertions.

Brest, August 9. The five Spanish ships, from the Island of Ain, daily expected, the Argonaute, a line-of-battle ship, from L'Orient.

Orders have been received show every distinction to Spaniards, and there is a great feast given them to-day in the Road.

Brest, August 10. of the Road this day.

Line-of-battle fit for Sea.

Fourteen three-deckers, including the Formidable Indomptable, with barbet batteries on their gangways; twenty-

nine from ■■ 74 guns, two-deckers; two hulks, receiving ships; seventeen frigates; eight corvettes, and several store-ships ■■■ tenders.

D'AUVERGNE, Prince of Bouillon.

■■■ I ■■■ my letter, one of my confidential men ■■ arrived from ■■ Coast, with accounts that ■■ desertion of the seamen from ■■■ almost general. The Roads of Brittany are covered with them, disputing the passage with the gendarmerie, that ■■ in activity to prevent it.

Right Hon. John Boreford to Lord Castlereagh.

Buxton, August 30, ■■■

My ■■■ Lord—I have just received yours of the 26th. I ■■ much obliged to you for your attention to my convenience. I ■■ your letters say that either the middle or the end of the month is equal to ministers on this side, but I am certain they wish ■■ the end. I wrote ■■ Lord Auckland¹ to know what he heard them say on the subject of time, and he told me, in answer, the end of the month; Rose wrote to ■■ to Dublin (which I received here) for papers, among others, for the last Book of Rates, to be sent, under cover, ■■ Mr. Frewin, Commissioner of Customs, which has been sent. I wrote to him from hence in ■■■ and desired him to let me know when he thought I should ■■ called to London; ■■ answer was, that Mr. Pitt ■■ wholly occupied by naval and military business, and would

¹ William, third son of Sir Robert Eden, Bart., of West Auckland, Durham, was bred to the bar, and successively filled many important situations. ■■ was Under-Secretary of State for the Northern Department, first, in 1771, and again in 1773; Commissioner to America, 1778; Chief Secretary in Ireland, 1780; Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, 1783; Envoy Extraordinary to France for Commercial Matters, 1785; Ambassador to Madrid, 1787; Plenipotentiary to Holland, 1789; Joint ■■■ General from 1796 to 1801. In 1793, he was created a British Peer by the title of Baron Auckland, having previously been invested with an Irish Peerage. ■■ his lady, the sister of Sir Gilbert Elliot, the first Lord Minto, he had children born in all the different countries to which he was called by public business.

not be able to attend to us before the end of September or the beginning of October, and [redacted] himself taking advantage, [redacted] going [redacted] three weeks or a month to Cufnells; so that I am certain that you would only lose time by coming [redacted] end of September.

On Rose's sending for the Book of Rates, and desiring [redacted] to be sent to Frewin, I see they mean to go into certain calculations [redacted] comparisons. I therefore wrote to Cooke, not being sure that you might not have set out for London, and desired him, if thought necessary, to order Weld, who was at Liverpool, [redacted] stay [redacted] side [redacted] water, in [redacted] our meeting [redacted] been in the beginning of September; but, on receiving R.'s answer, [redacted] hearing from Dublin that C. was [redacted] the Chancellor's, I wrote to Weld [redacted] Liverpool to go home, and, I suppose, he is now [redacted] Dublin, and Rogers Wetheral, [redacted] clerk in the Inspector's office, [redacted] in London. I wrote to him to stay there, and found that Isaac Corry had before secured him.

Among the various subjects which [redacted] he discussed, I think the ascertaining the quantum of our contribution will be [redacted] of the [redacted] difficult: it might, therefore, be well to sound men's opinions on that point, to direct our ideas [redacted] what may be thought reasonable by men of [redacted] and weight; I have [redacted] [redacted] believe that the Speaker relies upon the difficulties he will be able to throw in the way of a [redacted] adjustment.

Patrickson [redacted] here, so is the Rev. Mr. Elliot, Grattan's¹ brother-in-law: he told the former that Grattan [redacted] in the [redacted] of Wight, very ill, [redacted] he [redacted] ordered not to read [redacted]

¹ Henry Grattan, whose father was Recorder of and M.P. for Dublin, was educated at Trinity College, called to the bar, and, through the influence of the Earl of Charlemont, obtained a seat in Parliament, where he gained such distinction by his exertions in behalf of the independence of Ireland, that the sum of £50,000 was voted to him for his services. [redacted] was likewise a zealous and persevering advocate of the claims of the Catholics, and an equally strenuous opponent of the measures of Government in general, and of the Union in particular.

write, ■ attempt any business, but that he was constantly writing, and was determined ■ go to Ireland the ■ of September or beginning of October, and was full of politics, and nothing his friends could say had any effect upon him. Lord D. surprised ■ but I fear ■ inveterate; ■ criticism is very diverting as a criticism; but I fear ■ shows ■ mind determined ■ ■ on ■ side of this great question only. Alick Knox ■ gone from ■ since Tuesday; George Knox went yesterday; they ■ ■ Matlock. The latter goes ■ London on Monday. I do not yet know when the former stirs. Counsellor William Smith¹ ■ just ■ me; ■ goes ■ just ■ he has been extracting from my volumes of Union pamphlets, for ■ days, and ■ about ■ work, which I conjecture to be ■ review of the whole of the arguments.

Monsieur le Commandeur de Marcellanges, my brother-in-law, came to ■ yesterday from Lord Moira's, and I have just received ■ letter from Lady Hill² and Fanny, from Liverpool, where she landed last night from Derry in thirty-one hours; and, about an hour ago, arrived Sir Henry Tuft and my niece; ■ that ■ ■ not be alone in this most dismal place.

My health ■ better and ■ can walk much better than I have been able to do for many months, ■ that I hope ■ ■ be able to ■ anywhere.

¹ Son of ■ Michael Smith, one of the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland; he was educated ■ Trinity College, Dublin, and ■ came to London for the purpose of studying the law. ■ he gained the friendship of Mr. Burke, and, on his return to Ireland, became an eminent pleader ■ the Irish Bar, particularly in the Court of Chancery. He also distinguished himself in the House of Commons, and, after the Union, was raised to the Bench as ■ Baron of the Exchequer. The work for which Mr. Beresford supposed Mr. Smith to be making extracts was, no doubt, a pamphlet published by him in 1799, with the ■ ■ "Address to the People of Ireland on the subject of the proposed Union between the two Kingdoms."

² Third daughter of Mr. Beresford, and wife of Sir George Fitzgerald

We have not had a single day without rain, the place is, without exception, the most disagreeable I ever was at. A man need not wait for the gloomy month of November to hang himself; he need only come to Buxton in August. I suppose some one wrote to Mr. George Hill, the girls, that I was either about to die a natural death or to hang myself, by their setting me in such a hurry from Derry for Liverpool, to come before I departed; but I hope to depart for London, not for the next world yet.

I am, my dear Lord, yours, &c.,

J. [Signature]

The Duke of Portland to the Lord-Lieutenant.

Whitehall, Saturday, August 31, 1799.

My Lord—I have had the honour to receive and lay before the King your Excellency's letter of the [redacted] of last month, in which you remind me of the legacy of £5000 which [redacted] left by the late Primate of Ireland, to be applied to the purpose of establishing a University at Armagh, "provided the [redacted] should be incorporated within four years after his decease," and represent that the term so specified will expire on the 10th of next October, and that the legacy will lapse, unless the condition annexed to it is [redacted] before that day. Your Excellency communicates the [redacted] which have been alleged in favour of such an establishment, and suggests the means of providing funds for it; and you also transmit the outlines of a plan of the Institution, together with a copy of the present Primate's observations upon it.

Considering the time which has passed since your Excellency put [redacted] papers into my hands, and the [redacted] approach of [redacted] period [redacted] which the bequest becomes void, your Excellency [redacted] possibly be [redacted] to [redacted] the subject has not received [redacted] attention [redacted] entitled to: but, as the establishment, [redacted] which it was to be inferred from the plan the legacy was intended [redacted] applied, was of a nature and [redacted] ap-

peared to me ■ lead to consequences which required the most serious and ■ consideration, I was ■ only desirous, but felt it ■ duty, to collect the sentiments of persons of ■ ■ ■ comprehensive judgment in ■ kingdom upon so novel and unprecedented an institution, ■ ■ submitted it ■ ■ Majesty's confidential servants, ■ of whom, that I have had the good fortune to consult, agree with me in recommending ■ ■ your Excellency ■ let ■ legacy lapse, ■ ■ lay aside, ■ least, for the present, any thought of such an institution, ■ of any alteration ■ ■ the appropriation of the fund arising from the estates granted by King Charles the First, for the establishment of the five schools ■ the province of Ulster.

Much doubt ■ entertained by those with whom I have ■ versed upon the subject, whether ■ Revenues of the ■ in question could ■ diverted from the purpose to which they were originally destined, to be applied in the manner now proposed ; and, ■ for the legacy, it ■ considered to be utterly inapplicable, because, although it is stated to be intended for the erection of ■ second University in Armagh, it ■ not to be presumed that the Primate would have contributed in any manner whatever ■ the establishment of an institution for the encouragement of Schismatics and Separatists from the Church, ■ which he ■ not only the first Minister, but ■ of the ■ zealous and devoted members.

However ■ should have concurred in wishing that Trinity College had not been placed in Dublin, we are far from being prepared ■ say ■ a second University would ■ of public benefit in Ireland, and more especially in the present circumstances of ■ impending Union, which no means perhaps ■ so ■ perfect and to render ■ indissolubly one nation, as inducements to the better orders of ■ people of that kingdom to receive a part of their education either at the ■ Universities of ■ country.

I should, therefore, very much hesitate as ■ ■ policy of

enlarging at ■■■ moment ■■■ the ■■■ of education, ■■ far as ■■ regards persons of that description, or in giving ■■■ facility to the education of the ■■■ classes, and I think it a ■■■ well worthy of consideration, in ■■■ ■■■■ encouragement can be given to Irishmen to study and take degrees in ■■■ of the ■■■ English Universities.

As to the advantage which would be derived from such an institution by the emulation it would ■■■ in ■■■ University of Dublin, I will venture to say that there is not a place of education in any part of his Majesty's dominions, ■■ perhaps ■■ the known world, ■■ which such ■■ argument ■■ little applicable. If ■■ times had ■■■ your Excellency leisure and opportunity to be acquainted with the system and course of the studies in Trinity College in Dublin, the exercises performed by the students, the frequent public examinations they undergo, the very ■■■ trials to which those are obliged to submit who ■■ candidates for fellowships, ■■■ the sacrifices, ■■ point of health, which are ■■■ too often made in the ■■■ tests which annually take place there for literary fame, I am confident that you would have been of opinion that, instead of using means to raise the spirit of emulation, sound policy, or humanity, ■■ least, rendered it ■■■ necessary to consider of means ■■ restrain it within proper bounds.

I shall speak with little less confidence as to the benefit which it ■■■ been supposed would arise in assisting the Dis- ■■■ in the ■■■ of their education. They ■■ not persons of that description, in point of pecuniary circumstances, who ■■ in ■■■ of such aid; but, though the policy of the country admits of their being tolerated, ■■ long as ■■ shall judge an ■■■ Religion to ■■ necessary, ■■ long, ■■ concise, must ■■ inconsistent ■■ it to give premiums for the profession ■■ religious persuasions; ■■■ ■■ should incline ■■ ■■ it must be so long impossible for ■■ establish a school ■■ appoint Divinity Professors, whose doctrines ■■■ ■■ subjected to any control or responsibility, and which were in

several respects in opposition to those which the Government of the country was bound to recognise and support.

any inconsistency, I conceive, sentiments I have honour to communicate your Excellency, it certainly was, and continues to be, the opinion of the King's servants, that the interests of the Protestant Dissenters should receive mark of his Majesty's favourable attention by a further allowance to their clergy and a new distribution of bounty which Majesty should be graciously pleased to grant for that purpose; but, to the best of recollection of those by whom this measure entertained and discussed, a principal object the increasing modelling the allowance to the persons of this persuasion, (which, I must observe, was intended to be restrained to the ministers of that Church, and who the only persons of that description in the contemplation of those who the point), was, to make them more dependent, and render them more amenable to Government; and one of our principal views was, to prevail upon them by these to form among themselves some such orders and gradations as prevail in the Established Church in Scotland, to which part of kingdom, and to its Universities, it much desirable that they should resort their institutions and than to any school Professor that may be set up in their country.

As I willing to hope that the reasons I have stated to your Excellency sufficient to satisfy you that the opinion of the King's servants has not been lightly taken up, and that be recommended to Majesty give sanction appropriation of the Primate's Legacy, or establishment of a second University Ireland, may be useless for me to say, that such an institution as has proposed to your Excellency would never have taken without creating such an alarm in the two Universities in this kingdom as would have produced the most serious them against his Majesty's being advised

to assent to such a measure; nor indeed can I believe that the serious and well-disposed people of this country (nine-tenths of whom are members of the Established Church) would have brought to look upon such an experiment as a matter of indifference.

One other circumstance occurred to me, which I am unwilling to pass over, and which it may be resorted to in support of a Dissenting Seminary of the kind proposed, that is, the Seminary at Maynooth. I must, therefore, observe that that institution took place at a time when the Roman Catholics were deprived of the means they till then possessed of having persons educated for holy orders, according to the rules of that Church; that it was solely confined to that purpose, that it was immediately under the eye of Government, and it was revocable at pleasure; and that, although it originated in the Government and for the reasons I have stated, it was the advantage also which had been much and long wished for by some of the best friends of Ireland; that, by affording to those Roman Catholics who were destined for the service of the Church the means of receiving their education in their native country, it tended to prevent the prejudices which those people were but too apt to imbibe by being forced from their native country, in order to qualify themselves for admission into the holy ministry, which, among them, requires a particular mode of life, as well as of studies, in which a total seclusion from all worldly intercourse, as well as a series of the most austere and self-denying practices, makes an indispensably necessary part. This Seminary, therefore, will be found, on comparison, not to be less from that of the Protestant Seminary in forms and ceremonies of their respective religions.

There is another objection, which, to my mind, has never been suggested, and particularly so to that part of the population by which a Divinity Professorship has been suggested. It is, of course, a Divinity Professorship of the kind which is now a Divinity Professorship, and toleration of it, as I conceive, impossible

to form any general rules or orders, in the articles of religion or ecclesiastical canons, by which persons who expose themselves of those indulgences can be subjected to any punishments, but to conduct in doctrines which may be deemed blasphemous or seditious; that, in fact, a professor of the Dissenting University be at liberty, in points of doctrine and discipline, to hold his own tenets as he pleases, and to counteract any ordinances of the Church in that respect, and may exert himself in doing every injury in his power under the sanction and authority of Government.

I do not enlarge farther upon this subject, because, from the light in which it has been viewed by such of his Majesty's servants as have been particularly called upon to consider it, I persuade myself that, when it comes under the consideration of those friends who are prompted by their zeal and attachment to Government to make any proposal to your Excellency, there will remain no difference of opinion with regard to the propriety of laying it entirely aside. From this statement, I trust the difference between the institution at Maynooth and that which is proposed for the Protestant Dissenters at Armagh is clearly and distinctly marked, so as to render it impossible to bring forward the former as a precedent or argument for the establishment of the latter, to which, indeed, if it were prudent to give any countenance, I believe it might be safely left to the Dissenters themselves, who would find the difficulties, in forming such an establishment, to be no more than as not to be surmounted by their perseverance.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

The Rev. Dr. Dillon to the Rev. Dr. Troy.

Clare, September 1, 1799.

Most Rev. and Dear Sir—Your favour of the 27th ult., forwarded after my Westport, I received only

this day on my arrival here. I been in due time acquainted with the wishes of Lord Castlereagh, I would certainly have attended the County of Galway meeting, though, I confess, I should have felt myself out of my sphere in a public meeting of that description. It only remains for me to present my request your Lordship will be so obliging as to have my name put on the list. I myself each day less shy of publicly declaring my sentiments and wishes relative to the Union. I have had an opportunity, in the course of the parochial visitation of this diocese, which is nearly finished, of observing how little the public mind is so much as measure; I have also had an opportunity of acquiring the strongest conviction that the Government alone can restore harmony and happiness to our unhappy country.

I write this scrawl on the altar of a country chapel, but shall have leisure to give you a full narrative of my adventures. If I can judge from appearances, the people are heartily sick of rebellion and French politics. There are, however, still many freebooters and outlawed rebels in the mountains of Connemara, which place I have not dared to visit.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

EDWARD DILLON.

Received of the Rev. Dr. Coppinger, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, respecting a Notice posted near the Chapel of Ballyntantis, in the neighbourhood of Middleton, County Cork.

Middleton, September 2, 1799.

On Sunday, the nineteenth of August, a Notice against the paying of and assisting any clergyman to draw them posted up close to the Chapel of Ballyntantis, Middleton, which, being observed by the parish priest, the Rev. Mr. Barry, as he was about to enter the chapel, remonstrated forcibly against it, and insisted the people

present [redacted] instantly [redacted] down. They [redacted] not do so, he, therefore, took it down himself; and, refusing to say mass [redacted] them, [redacted] [redacted] once [redacted] give me [redacted] of the [redacted] action. I expressed, not only to himself, the satisfaction which [redacted] conduct [redacted] gave me, but went with him to [redacted] other chapel [redacted] Middleton, where, [redacted] presence of a very large [redacted] gregation, I repeated the encomium, and returned him public thanks. I then laid [redacted] interdict upon the Chapel of Ballynantis, [redacted] [redacted] parishioners, in a body, should declare [redacted] abhorrence of this Notice, [redacted] give sufficient [redacted] to expect [redacted] they would [redacted] again be concerned in [redacted] any similar outrage. The following day, I engaged the parish priest to accompany [redacted] to Cove, where [redacted] presented the Notice to Sir Charles Ross, to receive his directions, and lay before him what [redacted] ourselves had done. He was pleased to signify his approbation, but, at the [redacted] time, desired [redacted] to let the people know from [redacted] that, [redacted] any disorderly conduct of that sort should appear there again, he would send troops to live upon them for a month [redacted] free quarters. The General's determination [redacted] to be announced to them in the chapel-yard the next Sunday, but they came to me before [redacted] day, accompanied by their parish priest; for I refused [redacted] listen to them without him. They declared their regret for not having taken down the Notice; they endeavoured to exculpate themselves on [redacted] score of being concerned in putting it there; they offered to make up, among them, a sum of thirty or forty pounds, [redacted] a reward for discovering the guilty person; they promised [redacted] oppose unanimously any proceeding of this sort, [redacted] such ever be attempted in their parish. The parish priest bore testimony that these people [redacted] heretofore the best conducted and the most exemplary under his [redacted] yet [redacted] still refused to withdraw the interdict, until, [redacted] stating these particulars to the General, I should have his express [redacted] I accordingly [redacted] [redacted] him by [redacted] of them, [redacted] received [redacted] following answer:—

Cove of Cork, August 24, 1799.

Sir—I am happy to learn that the [redacted] which you have adopted [redacted] likely to prevent a repetition of [redacted] very unjustifiable proceeding which lately occurred in [redacted] parish under Mr. Barry's charge. Nothing can give me [redacted] pain than being obliged to adopt severe [redacted] rigorous measures, in order to preserve the peace of the country; but, [redacted] [redacted] similar circumstance occur, I will feel it my duty to make [redacted] inhabitants of [redacted] neighbourhood of the place where any [redacted] lawful proceeding takes place entirely responsible for the consequences, unless they produce the guilty persons. It is my anxious wish to preserve the security and tranquillity of the country by the most moderate and lenient measures; but, if obliged to adopt a different line of conduct, the people may be assured that no indulgence [redacted] be shown to offenders. If you [redacted] it expedient to take off the interdict [redacted] upon [redacted] chapel, I [redacted] have [redacted] objection to your doing so.

I have the honour to remain, &c.,

CHARLES ROSS, Major-General.

The Rev. Doctor Copping.

There is not a sentence in the General's letter that [redacted] not literally communicated and strongly enforced [redacted] the Chapel of Middleton by myself in English and by the parish priest in Irish; after which I gave him directions to go in person [redacted] [redacted] Chapel of Ballyntantia, [redacted] speak [redacted] the people there; and, though I withdrew the interdict, I ordered, [redacted] the [redacted] time, [redacted] [redacted] of excommunication to be pronounced against any person or persons who should thenceforward be guilty of, or in any wise concerned in, [redacted] offence. This order, with a view [redacted] greater formality, I committed [redacted] writing, and directed, [redacted] a letter, [redacted] the parish priest, though I gave it open, out of my [redacted] hand, desiring that he himself might seal it, [redacted] never, indeed, suspecting that it could be made the subject of [redacted] serious complaint against [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] now perceive [redacted] has, by [redacted]

following conclusion of Lord Longueville's card "Sir [redacted] the titular Bishop [redacted] much stronger [redacted] more explicit [redacted] it appeared [redacted] Bishop [redacted] designed for, by the communication he [redacted] of [redacted] Barry, which [redacted] to the Lord-Lieutenant." I [redacted] [redacted] before a better tribunal, and, [redacted] above particulars considered, I [redacted] with confidence in the result.

WILLIAM COFFINGER, D.D.

His Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Dover, Monday, September 9, [redacted]

My Lord—The complete [redacted] which has attended the [redacted] which his Majesty [redacted] empowered to take by an Act of last Session, of recruiting [redacted] regular forces out of the Militia, the eagerness which has been manifested by those corps [redacted] alter [redacted] of their service, and the disappointment which [redacted] been almost universally expressed by them on finding themselves restrained from indulging their ardour by the limitation in point of number of those who [redacted] be suffered to enlist, would have been of themselves a strong inducement [redacted] the King's servants to submit to his Majesty the propriety of applying again [redacted] Parliament [redacted] enable him to give a farther scope to the zeal of this description of his subjects, and [redacted] acquire for [redacted] only deficient part of his strength those [redacted] activity and energy which would put it upon a [redacted] with [redacted] other powers of [redacted] Government. But, in [redacted] [redacted] encouragement, [redacted] of great and happy events which [redacted] providentially succeeded each other in such rapid and uninterrupted order, the general prosperity of the country, and the knowledge of the solidity of our [redacted] resources, have [redacted] raised the spirits of the people in general, and disposed [redacted] repose such unreserved confidence in Government, [redacted] show [redacted] in [redacted] support, that, considering the great objects which present themselves in different parts of the world,

and the prospect of bringing this war to such a termination as may not only secure the glory but the happiness of this country, and the general tranquillity of the civilized world, ■■■■ to ■■■■ duty humbly ■■■■ recommend ■■■■ Majesty ■■■■ avail himself of ■■■■ power with which he is invested by law ■■■■ order ■■■■ Parliament to ■■■■ a fortnight's notice for ■■■■ despatch of business, but, in fact, for the sole purpose of ■■■■ being proposed to them to pass ■■■■ Act to enable ■■■■ Majesty to make another call on the zeal and loyalty of his people for a further recruit from the Militia, which, without diminishing the numbers of the established permanent Militia, shall authorize ■■■■ Majesty ■■■■ accept the offer of the services of any number of Militia-men, who may be inclined to enlist in regular regiments, provided the number is not such ■■■■ to reduce the complement of the ■■■■ below what it ■■■■ fixed at, in consequence of the laws which existed before the Supplementary ■■■■ ■■■■ raised. To this his Majesty ■■■■ pleased to assent; and a council was accordingly held yesterday ■■■■ Weymouth, ■■■■ which a Proclamation ■■■■ ordered to be issued for calling the Parliament which will meet on to-morrow fortnight, the ■■■■ instant, for the despatch of business.

The great and ultimate object for which this step has been taken will obviously suggest to your Excellency the hopes of his Majesty's Government, and the expectation they may entertain of deriving great assistance upon this occasion from the kingdom ■■■■ which you preside, and particularly from its ■■■■ corps; the generality of whom, it is represented to us, would ■■■■ gladly enlist in the regiments of ■■■■ line, ■■■■ would ■■■■ generally encouraged to do ■■■■ by their officers, because I ■■■■ assured the commanding officers would be able, without difficulty, ■■■■ settle with the privates of their respective regiments, and ■■■■ replace them, ■■■■ should be thought necessary, ■■■■ rate of £10 per man, (the bounty which has been allowed respectively to such of the ■■■■ of this country as have ■■■■ regulars,) ■■■■ indeed upon ■■■■ strength

of the assurances which I have received in this respect, that ■■■■ wish ■■ now communicated.

As I have suggested a mode of procuring the enlistment of ■■■■ Militia-men, ■■■■ have expressed myself in ■■■■ ■■■■ may naturally ■■■■ your Excellency to imagine that the Militia in Ireland ■■■■ an institution which I should much regret ■■■■ of, I ■■■■ expressly declare to you that nothing is further ■■■■ intention than to guide or influence your opinion ■■■■ of these respects. The wish of ■■■■ Majesty's Government is confined to the acquisition of ■■ large reinforcement of the army out of the Militia, because it would be, ■■■■ is, ■■■■ only means of rendering the army efficient and active, ■■■■ of giving his Majesty, with any degree of certainty, the immediate advantage of ■■ large disposable force in that part of the world, where it could be ■■■■ usefully and expeditiously employed. But your Excellency ■■■■ understand that the mode ■■■■ of obtaining it ■■■■ entirely to your better information and judgment; and that, provided, of which your experience and attachment to the service do not allow ■■■■ to doubt, no injury arises to the recruiting service on this side of ■■■■ water, you may depend upon the full sanction of his Majesty's approbation to any method you may think ■■■■ to employ for the attainment of ■■■■ purpose. But, ■■ the Militia-men ■■■■ be discharged from their present engagement but by ■■■■ authority of ■■■■ Legislature, and ■■ it must be obvious ■■■■ your Excellency that much of the advantage ■■■■ be derived from ■■■■ will arise from the despatch with which ■■■■ carried into effect, you will, ■■ dare say, have anticipated the wish I am to signify to you that no time may be lost in conferring with those whom you may think proper ■■■■ consult on the subject, in order that a Proclamation may issue for the calling of ■■■■ Parliament, in the same manner ■■■■ purpose ■■ that for which I have acquainted you that ■■■■ Majesty held yesterday a Council ■■■■ Weymouth; and with ■■■■ view ■■ have ■■ propose that the conferences respecting the

Union should be deferred until this measure has been carried in Ireland; because I must presume that, on such an occasion, the presence of the Chancellor, Lord Castlereagh, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Beresford, is indispensably necessary; although Session need not be more than a week, and, in the space of another week, ten days at most, the Chancellor may be returned, and the King's Commission may be signified to your Excellency. This proceeding, therefore, though it necessarily retard the proposed meetings respecting the Union, need not defer them more than three weeks at most; and, as it is your Excellency's intention to assemble the Parliament of Ireland before Christmas, that of this kingdom has an occasion to meet earlier, the time that is most convenient to Lord Castlereagh and the other gentlemen to be over for settling the arrangements relative to this great measure cannot but suit us, and it is therefore our desire that the appointment should be entirely to them.

I cannot conclude this letter, without having the satisfaction of acquainting your Excellency that his Royal Highness the Duke of York embarked yesterday evening at Deal, to take upon him the command of Majesty's troops, and those of the Emperor of Russia, which are destined for the deliverance of Holland, and the re-establishment of its ancient government; that the remainder of the troops which are to serve under his Royal Highness will be embarked in the course of to-morrow and Wednesday, and that accounts were received yesterday of the arrival of the Russians on Saturday, in Yarmouth Roads, that, in probability, they will reach the Texel before, at the same time with, the troops which are embarking at the Downs. I again beg leave to congratulate your Excellency on the success of Majesty's forces under Sir Ralph Abercromby, and the surrender of the Dutch fleet, which auspicious beginning there is reason to hope, from Sir Ralph Abercromby's letters of yesterday, is not likely to

be injured by any event which is at present to be appre-

I have the honour ■ be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

The Marquess of Waterford to Lord Castlereagh.

September ■

My ■ Lord—I do not hesitate in pronouncing ■ the opinion of ■ County and City of Waterford ■ nearly unanimous in favour of Union; that my own idea was, ■ ■ ■ it might have been passed and carried; and that I ■ on what ■ determined on ■ the meeting we ■ ■ the Park, where the resolutions in favour of Union were decided. In County, they ■ decided ■ the resolutions presented by the High Sheriff, and in the City in those agreed to with equal unanimity, which ■ avoided by the corporation being presented, and which, however late, I ■ still ought be taken up. They ■ at this ■ in the hands of the ■ of Waterford. I take the proper mode to be to force them into notice, to found fresh resolutions on them, as full as you desire and as explicit; but, from their being smothered in the city, I ■ they ought to be revived first there, and great care taken ■ nothing should wear the ■ appearance of surprise. Guarding against that, I have no objection to what ■ Excellency wishes; ■ the ■ time, I do not think you ■ aware of the situation of the country, and that you have put the yeomanry ■ permanent pay ■ the ■ ■ in the ■ dangerous situation since the rebellion. To ■ it ■ evident ■ the Anti-Unionists co-operate with the ill-affected in the country, in drawing every power against Union, and in endeavouring ■ draw the whole weight to rise ■ murder all the ■ of Union. At first, I laughed at the reports I heard; but, from the reports I heard, ■ the information I have had, I am decided the entire lower class are on ■ point to rise and murder. From ■ accounts I gave Lord Corn-

wallis, I flattered myself his Excellency would have authorized [REDACTED] re-establish [REDACTED] yeomanry on pay. In the present alarm, I know [REDACTED] will be unwise [REDACTED] unpopular not [REDACTED] it, and that I shall [REDACTED] a [REDACTED] days be drove to send Lady W. and my girls [REDACTED] Dublin, unless it is fully done. I could [REDACTED] have conceived that nearly [REDACTED] under-tenants on my [REDACTED] are in league [REDACTED] murder, burn, and destroy this house, property, [REDACTED] the entire residence. I intreat [REDACTED] yeomanry again. There [REDACTED] point I beg to guard you against—you know Judge Kelly. I send you [REDACTED] application. I thought [REDACTED] sufficiently [REDACTED] apply to him, and believe it a very hard [REDACTED] I [REDACTED] say [REDACTED].

I am, my dear Lord, [REDACTED] sincerely yours,

WATERFORD.

Lord John found [REDACTED] Friday night several pikes just made, several handles just hewed out, and the forges red-hot. Two of the smiths [REDACTED] in custody; they all acknowledged the intention to rise.

INFORMATION.

Informant sayeth, that [REDACTED] a conversation [REDACTED] Saturday night last with A. B.: that he was informed by him that the French [REDACTED] not to be depended on; that there [REDACTED] apprehensions entertained that, were they permitted [REDACTED] a part, they might be [REDACTED] than [REDACTED] present rulers; [REDACTED] Ireland [REDACTED] [REDACTED] organized, and meant to proceed [REDACTED] a new principle; [REDACTED] Union was the word for rising all [REDACTED] the kingdom. That on the 29th of [REDACTED] month, [REDACTED] Parliament met the 27th, [REDACTED] City of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] to have risen, and, the second day after, [REDACTED] whole kingdom would have been up; that the rising in Dublin was to be the general signal; but that, the Parlia- [REDACTED] being adjourned, nothing would be done until [REDACTED] meeting. [REDACTED] laughed [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] of the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Dun- ganon and elsewhere, signing [REDACTED] Union; he [REDACTED] the Pro- [REDACTED] must go, [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] would have their turn, that

■ was better to be hanged than lose their rights, meaning by a Union, and said ■■■ the Orangemen, ■ many of them as were ■■■ to Union, would join the Catholics ■ preventing it; ■■ there ■■■ ■■■ about Dunganon, that they did ■■ ■■ them, ■■ ■■ there ■■■ plenty in Tip.

A. M., in County Waterford, was last week sworn ■ rebel; sent himself for a friend to ■■■ him. Informant says, ■■■ ■■ much ■■ be of service to his country, that, if approved of, he will apparently become ■ rebel, and ■■■ into their plans, to ■■ able the more effectually ■■ blow them up. Says ■■■ A. B. ■■ great friendship for him, but will ■■ fully open ■■ mind, unless he should swear, &c., &c.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh.

Bayham Abbey, September 11, 1799.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—Though I am in great haste, I ■■■ help writing ■ few lines to thank you for your letter of the 4th, and to congratulate you on the successful issue of the Galway meeting, which is, in every point of view, ■ most satisfactory event. You would have heard from me in the beginning of the last week, if ■ had learned any thing ■■ ■■ worth relating ■■ Bulstrode. ■ do not find, however, that much ■■ been done ■■ this side of the water towards increasing your Parliamentary strength. The Duke of Portland does ■■ seem ■■ despair of Lord Downshire; but he is always ■■ guine; and I could not collect that he had much foundation for his hopes. I believe he chiefly relies ■■ the King's in- ■■■ ■■ Lord Downshire. The King ■■ told the Duke, ■■ when Lord Downshire was ■■ in his closet, he (Lord D.) said, ■■ ■■ conclusion of the audience, ■■ "a Union would ■■ ■■ only means of saving Ireland." The Duke was not ■■ to ascertain the precise period of the interview to which the King alluded, but conceived it to have taken place nine or ten months ■■

The Speaker returns to [redacted] by Scotland. The Duke of Portland [redacted] informed [redacted] it might not [redacted] impracticable to open a negotiation with him. The Duke received [redacted] intelligence from Pelham; and, [redacted] mentioning the subject [redacted] Pelham, I found that Douglas [redacted] picked up some suggestion of [redacted] [redacted] Lees,¹ who, I believe, had formed [redacted] conjecture on the language of [redacted] of the Speaker's friends. Lord Camden, too, entertains an idea of this nature, from a passage in a letter which he has received from the Speaker. All this is a [redacted] suspicion. Lord Sheffield,² who, you know, [redacted] in habits of intimacy with the Speaker, seems to think that he looks [redacted] overturning the [redacted] in the detail; [redacted] this, I confess, appears to [redacted] the most probable line for him to take. If his *sincere* support and assistance in the detail could be obtained, it would certainly be a most important acqui-

¹ John Lees, a native of North Britain, went to Ireland as private secretary to Marquess Townshend, when Lord-Lieutenant [redacted] that kingdom; afterwards held the appointments of Secretary [redacted] War and Secretary of the Post Office there, and was created a Baronet in 1804.

² John Baker Holroyd, created Peer of Ireland in 1781, of Great Britain in 1802, as Baron Sheffield, and advanced [redacted] the Earldom of Sheffield in the Irish Peerage in [redacted]. He was President of the Board of Agriculture, a Lord of Trade, and a member of the Privy Council. Being elected into Parliament for Coventry shortly before the No-Popery riots in 1780, when Lord George Gordon, who exerted himself but too successfully to instil his own fanatical spirit into the mob, brought up to the House of Commons their violent petitions against the Roman Catholics, it is related that Mr. Holroyd, laying hold of his Lordship, said, "Hitherto I have imputed your conduct to madness, but now I perceive that it has more of malice than madness in it;" adding that, if any of the [redacted] whom he headed should force an entrance into the House, he would instantly inflict summary vengeance on his Lordship as the instigator.

Lord Sheffield was the most intimate friend of Gibbon, the historian, to whose memory he did honour in the publication of his Memoirs and posthumous works, in three quarto volumes. His own rather numerous literary productions were chiefly on subjects connected with trade and commerce: one of them, treating of the manufactures, trade, and present state of Ireland, appeared in 1788, and a third edition in 1792.

tion; but ■ would be very difficult to secure such aid from him, and you have experienced that ■ can render ■ friendship more troublesome ■ injurious ■ his hostility.

Lord Camden is quite well, and is perfectly cordial ■ ■ politics. Your visit to London will ■ very well timed, as all the ministers will be in town for the meeting of Parliament, ■ ■ to be convened on the 25th, merely ■ the purpose of enabling Government ■ procure more recruits for the ■ from the Militia.

I heartily felicitate you ■ the glorious result of the expedition to ■ Texel. Government ■ despatching great reinforcements ■ Holland. There ■ ■ much uncertainty with respect to the progress we are likely ■ make there. If the French should retire into the fortresses, the campaign may be protracted to a great length. The counsels and efforts of Russia continue to be most magnanimous. Nevertheless, all our prospects may be blasted by the perverse and ■ views of Austria and the obstinate infatuation of Prussia.

A thousand thanks to you for the offer of ■ apartment in your house; but surely I ■ ■ avail myself of your kindness without crowding you. I ■ ■ be very ■ you, at Grenier's, and will ■ least stay there until it is clearly ascertained ■ you ■ receive ■ without inconvenience.

Farewell. I have written ■ much longer letter than I intended, or than indeed ■ ought to have done, ■ I am going ■ with Lord Camden, and am late.

Believe ■ ever, &c.,

WILLIAM ELLIOT.

Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Castlereagh.

20, Lower Grosvenor Street, Saturday Morning.

My Lord—A ■ ■ domestic misfortune has prevented me from paying my personal respects to your Lordship, on your arrival in ■ kingdom. I came ■ town last night

for ■■■ or three days, and, could I learn when your Lordship would be at leisure for a few minutes, I would do myself the honour of waiting ■■ you. I have the pleasure of enclosing, in the ■■■■ time, a copy of a letter from Dr. Moylan, having communicated it also to the ■■■■ of Portland.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. C. HIPPISEY.

Rev. Dr. Moylan to Sir J. C. Hippisley.

Dublin, September 14, 1799.

My ■■■ Sir—Knowing how much you interest yourself ■■ the welfare of this poor country, I deferred complying with ■■■ friendly wish you expressed, of my writing to you from hence, until I could form a judgment of the state of public affairs in it. It is with the ■■■ cordial satisfaction I ■■■ inform you, that they seem to stand on a pleasing footing ■■ the circumstances of the times can well admit of. The measures taken by the present humane and enlightened administration have contributed very much to its tranquillity; and, except in those places where the Orange influence prevails, peace and good order appear ■■ be re-established. In the county of Wexford and its neighbouring counties, outrages still continue ■■ be committed, which mark too visibly the rancorous spirit of religious bigotry. Roman Catholic chapels have been lately burned or profaned, and their clergy persecuted. But ■■■ must hope ■■■ the Proclamation lately issued by Government, and the orders ■■■ down to the commanding officers in the disturbed districts, will put a stop to such shameful and violent ■■■■. Nothing, in my opinion, will more effectually tend ■■ lay those disgraceful and scandalous party ■■■ and dissensions, and restore peace and harmony amongst us, than ■■ great ■■■■ ■■ contemplation of ■■ legislative Union ■■■ incorporation of ■■■ kingdom with Great Britain.

I am happy to tell you it is working its way, ■■■ daily gaining ground ■■ the public opinion. Several counties, ■■■■

appeared most averse to it, have now declared for it, and I ■■■■ doubt but, with the blessing of God, it will ■■■■ effected, notwithstanding ■■■■ violent opposition of Mr. Foster ■■■■ party, ■■■■ will strain every nerve, ■■■■ move heaven ■■■■ earth, to prevent ■■■■ succeeding. They are a very powerful faction. ■■■■ grant they may not have ■■■■ the ■■■■ means so often made use of for political party purposes of ■■■■ citing underhand, by their agents, the poor, easily deluded people, ■■■■ riot ■■■■ insurrection, in order to embarrass Government! The Roman Catholics ■■■■ general are avowedly for the ■■■■. In ■■■■ South, where they are the most numerous, they have declared ■■■■ its favour, and I ■■■■ sure they will ■■■■ the same in the other parts of the kingdom, unless overawed (as I know they ■■■■ in some counties) by the dread of the powerful faction that opposes it. In this City, where the outcry against it has been so very violent, it is becoming every day ■■■■ unpopular, and I am persuaded that the Roman Catholic inhabitants will in time testify their approbation of it. A rumour has been industriously propagated, ■■■■ doubt by the enemies of the Union, that this measure, ■■■■ effected, would preclude for ever the Roman Catholics of this kingdom from the hopes of further emancipation, and that, under the Imperial Parliament, ■■■■ junto who oppressed them would still prevail, and hold the reins of the Government of this country; but I am confident ■■■■ report is not grounded, and I ■■■■ ■■■■ the British cabinet, in ■■■■ great wisdom and foresight, will ■■■■ the expediency of a liberal arrangement, in which his Majesty's loyal subjects of every description, without any religious distinction, will ■■■■ equally included, ■■■■ seeds of disaffection removed, and such political principles adopted, as ■■■■ serve cordially to unite ■■■■ people of this kingdom together in mutual benevolence towards ■■■■ other, in attachment to the Imperial constitution, ■■■■ in love and affection for our most gracious sovereign, ■■■■ support of ■■■■ Majesty's Government.

The provision intended ■■■■ for ■■■■

clergy of this kingdom is a measure worthy an enlightened Government, and we cannot but be thankful for it. I apprehend, however, that it will serve to preserve and strengthen their influence over these poor people, unless something be done at this time for their relief. Their enemies, the enemies of the peace and good order of the country, would avail themselves of this to estrange the minds of the poor people from us, by insinuating to them (as it appears by the report of the Committee they presented before) that we are pensioned by Government to support its measures against the people, and that we attend only to our own interests, without any attention to their misery and distress. Thus they would diminish the influence which the welfare of the country requires the clergy should have over their poor people. I deem it, therefore, highly expedient that, when his Majesty's Government shall, in its goodness and wisdom, determine on providing for the decent support of the Catholic clergy of this kingdom, something should be at the same time, and previous to it, done for the relief of the poor people of this country. There is one object that would peculiarly claim their attention; I mean the mode heretofore followed of collecting the tithes by proctors. Far be it from me to harbour the most distant thought of lessening, in the smallest degree, the income of the gentlemen of the Established Church, but I am convinced that, unless the mode of collecting the tithes be changed, it will be an annual source of disaffection. This is the opinion of the best friends of Government, and of many of the right reverend prelates of the Catholic Church.

Lord Castlereagh sailed last night for England. I wish him, with all my heart, a pleasant journey and a safe return. I have many obligations to his Lordship: he has been uncommonly civil and attentive to me. He is a most amiable nobleman, and well qualified to fill, with credit to himself and advantage to the nation, the high office he is stationed in. I hope he will find the satisfaction of seeing a great measure

of Union completed, the general content of both kingdoms, administration. I leave I request you'll my respectful salutes acceptable the Duke of Portland. I forget polite attention to me. I intend setting off from hence on Monday next, on my home to Cork, where I shall be happy to hear from you.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your perfect truth, yours, &c.,

H. MOYLAN.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Castle, September 18, 1799.

My Lord—I have had a conversation with the Chancellor, who I doubt of your right to reduce five thousand of the Militia, and agrees with me in thinking that, in the first instance, a greater diminution than five thousand cannot be proposed. I proceeds this evening to England, but will be ready, if your Grace, after conversing with him, should desire it, to return on the shortest notice.

Your Grace will observe that the question of assembling Parliament immediately is open to the decision of his Majesty's ministers; and, whatever may be their final instructions, I use my utmost exertions to carry them into effect. In the mean time, I do not see that any mischief can arise from a short delay, and our hands will be afterwards strengthened by the example of the British Parliament. It is with great pleasure I have learned that the idea which occasioned so much trouble and difficulty last year, of the right of the English Militia to return within a month of the meeting of Parliament in England, has again been entertained by the regiments composing the garrison of Dublin; that it has been a matter of conversation among the officers; and that assemblies of the non-commissioned officers have been held on the subject: but I do not yet know the full extent of the evil.

The reports which I this day received from the South are more favourable; and, although there is certainly

much mischief working in [redacted] country, I have no apprehension of an [redacted] rising. I enclose to your Grace the [redacted] letter which I have received from Lieutenant-General [redacted]

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

[redacted] Castle, September 18, [redacted]

My dear Lord—I think you will persuade [redacted] and [redacted] Parliament to present.

You could not spare 10,000 men. Be assured that the Defender system is spreading dangerously. You have seen [redacted] Clonmell, &c. I have information that [redacted] spirit is reviving in Dublin, and the district of Howth [redacted] been newly [redacted]. If, however, you could change Irish militia for [redacted] troops of any kind, so much the better, except for a Union argument.

I have [redacted] intimation that Lee and Alcock will certainly support you.

Lord and Lady Conyngham [redacted] arrived. I think they will invite his Excellency to Slane. I have no [redacted] yet from Lord Roden.¹

We have a Catholic declaration from Longford. I am promoting [redacted] in Roscommon. Lord Dillon² will be in town to-morrow.

I enclose a philippic from Lord Clanricarde.³ Lord Kilconnell [redacted] Lordship had once a contested election before [redacted] Grenville Act took place. Lord Clanricarde had the real majority, [redacted] Lord Kilconnell [redacted] him through [redacted] superior management in Parliament.

The talk of the coffee-houses now is that the Union will be carried.

[redacted] to-day. He says he [redacted] part legally

¹ Robert, [redacted]

² Charles, [redacted] Viscount.

³ [redacted] Thomas, [redacted]

with the militia above 70 a company. I showed him the Act. augmentation above 70 is discretionary, and consequently disbanding is discretionary.

truly, &c.,

E. COOKE.

I am reading Douglas: it is not popular enough.

Colonel Littlehales to Lord Castlereagh.

Castle, September 25, 1799.

My Lord—I am much obliged by two communications from your Lordship, one of Dawes, the messenger, delivered to me this day; and from him my Lord-Lieutenant received your letter from London, dated Sunday last. I am desired by His Excellency to enclose to you a copy of a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Velley, of the Oxford militia, with a copy of the return accompanying it, in which you will see that a small proportion of that regiment have volunteered an extension of services to the 1st of March next; and I am concerned to add that there is scarcely any expectation that the West York and Cambridge will offer to remain during the winter; indeed, it is represented that they are unanimous in wishing to return immediately to England. In this untoward predicament, Lord Cornwallis is desirous that His Majesty's Government should obtain an intimation through your Lordship of the critical and embarrassing situation in which the departure of the English militia corps will place this country. His Excellency will, of course, write the Duke of Portland, whenever he is fully acquainted with the positive result of these regiments.

In my communication, no report from General Sir Charles Asgill has been made: it is right, therefore, to mention the Counties of Waterford and Tipperary tolerably quiet.

* Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant.

I understand Cooke will join your Lordship in the course of a few days. You may [redacted] of hearing from [redacted] when- [redacted] there [redacted] any information necessary for you [redacted] know, and with which I [redacted] acquainted.

I have delivered the [redacted] of the route you [redacted] me [redacted] Cooke, but Lord Cornwallis is apprehensive that, under present circumstances, [redacted] is too extensive.

I have the honour [redacted] be, &c.,

E. [redacted] LITTLEHALES.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

Phoenix Park, September [redacted] 1799.

My dear Lord—Littlehales informed you by yesterday's mail of the arrival of Dawes, [redacted] indeed of every national circumstance that has occurred. The most unpleasant business is the prospect of the immediate departure of the three regi- [redacted] of English militia now in Dublin, which will be probably followed by that of the Pembroke. After this reduction of our force, it would not, in my opinion, be possible, [redacted] if the sanction of Parliament could be obtained, to take away [redacted] moment [redacted] thousand [redacted] from our militia, and, under a choice of difficulties, I think that the plan which you mention of making an immediate augmentation to the militia would be [redacted] advisable; the Colonels [redacted] cry out [redacted] they [redacted] be crimps and drill-serjeants for the army, but there [redacted] help for it; and I trust that the precedent in England will [redacted] [redacted] down.

[redacted] I wrote [redacted] above, it has been suggested to me that [redacted] chance of augmenting the several militia regiments of this kingdom [redacted] by [redacted] means equal, and [redacted] the business would probably [redacted] effected if the companies in some regiments were [redacted] [redacted] made [redacted] strong, whilst entire companies might be added to [redacted] regiments, who could complete with [redacted] greatest facility.

I only throw this out that they may consider in England

whether any discretionary power might be [redacted] us of this kind in [redacted] of [redacted] measure.

There is certainly mischief working in various parts of the country, [redacted] in Dublin [redacted] vicinity. In the [redacted] time, [redacted] wretched business of Courts-martial, hanging, transporting, &c., attended by [redacted] the [redacted] scenes of wives, sisters, fathers, kneeling and crying, [redacted] going on [redacted] usual, and [redacted] a comfortable prospect for a [redacted] any feeling. Cooke [redacted] to-morrow night.

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

As [redacted] plan for [redacted] militia is settled, [redacted] North.

Mr. [redacted] to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, September 23, 1799.

My Lord—Mr. Cooke [redacted] for England last night, and, as he will [redacted] reach your Lordship, [redacted] is unnecessary for [redacted] to notice any [redacted] which have occurred previously to [redacted] leaving this.

To-day I received from M'Naghten the resolutions of the County of Antrim, which I enclose: they [redacted] signed by 1,520 persons, and, [redacted] it is [redacted] object to publish [redacted] I [redacted] have it done without waiting [redacted] hear [redacted] you. The Donegal and Tyrone signatures [redacted] filling fast, and [redacted] very [redacted]

You will have heard from his Excellency of the change in [redacted] route, by which he will go to Belfast before he visits Lord Londonderry: a letter from May, which I also [redacted] you, induces this variation, and, as it will be of consequence to find May [redacted] the spot, the alteration may be for the best; [redacted] same time, I am anxious that Lord Cornwallis [redacted] confer [redacted] Mount Stewart [redacted] an early period of his journey, as they will best understand the temper of the [redacted] Your Lordship will observe [redacted] latter part of May's letter, [redacted] neither Littlehales nor [redacted] reply to, as [redacted] of us know what [redacted] been arranged with him.

I have everything encouraging ■ pronounce on ■ progress ■ Union makes. It ■ going on silently ■ persuasively, and ■ ■ by ■ ■ desirable ■ this progression ■ ■ for ■ time to come. The ■ attempts ■ rebellion, of which ■ have serious proofs, will not impede ■ Union, but in other views they ■ very unpleasant. The proceedings of the Court-martials ■ Clonmel show that many ■ engaged, and their schemes nearly ripe for execution. In Dublin and other places we have informations of meetings.

As the hopes of the disaffected ■ kept up partly by what the agitation of the question of Union may produce, and partly by promise of ■ from France, it is of the ■ importance that our military force should not be too much ■ duced; and I trust your Lordship will not consider the conquest of Holland to be ■ greater object, however others may.

Your Lordship's very faithful, &c.,

ALEXANDER MARDEN.

Mr. Marden to Colonel Littlehales.

Dublin Castle, September 29, 1799.

Dear Sir—The petition which is transmitted with Mr. Griffith's letter, brings forward a question of very considerable importance, and ■ be viewed as including ■ matter than merely the interests of the Grand Canal Company. I conceive that the object which the petitioners aim at is a declaration ■ ■ Excellency that, in arranging the business of ■ Union, the particular interests of Dublin shall be ■ to, and some advantages be secured to the capital, to counterbalance the injury which it ■ calculated that the removal ■ the Parliament and the local superiority ■ other sea-ports of ■ kingdom may ■ likely to occasion.

As these injuries are possible, and are certainly thought by many probable, ■ would be very ■ to interest the ■ inhabitants of Dublin by a prospect of some advantages being acquired by them, provided this ■ done without producing discontents ■ other parts of the kingdom, which are

already jealous of the capital, and that the entertaining of the question by Government did not of itself admit that the capital is likely to be injured, and so far strengthen an opinion which [redacted] for [redacted] problematical. If [redacted] objections did not stand in the way, and a practicable mode of advancing the interests of the capital could be adopted, I confess [redacted] strikes me to be peculiarly desirable to adopt such [redacted] measure.

The withdrawing the bounty on the carriage of corn was a good [redacted] upon the whole; but [redacted] has certainly [redacted] [redacted] of the capital and of the petitioners more particularly. I do not think that any attention ought [redacted] be paid [redacted] the desire of restoring the former bounties; but, if a bounty could be paid on the conveyance of goods by the canals, [redacted] assistance be given for extending them to the Shannon, [redacted] otherwise increasing their communication with remote parts of the kingdom, the advantages which Dublin would derive from hence would be certain and considerable; and the kingdom at large might, [redacted] indeed must, be benefitted by such extension of communication. A preference of this kind, secured for twenty years or so, might effect the purpose. All this, however, [redacted] very wise and serious consideration, and the petitioners, I think, cannot have an answer delivered to them until the principal point is determined upon. In the mean time, as his Excellency [redacted] going out of town, and Lord Castlereagh is in England, Mr. [redacted] may be answered for the present.

I have gone, perhaps, too much [redacted] length into this matter; [redacted] [redacted] as involving considerations of much importance in the question of Union.

Yours very sincerely, &c.,

ALEXANDER [redacted]

Luke Fox, Esq.¹ to Lord Castlereagh.

Harcourt Street, October 7, 1799.

My Lord—Though [redacted] fully sensible that I may subject myself [redacted] imputation of being deemed one of [redacted] busy

¹ Afterwards raised to the bench as Judge of Common Pleas.

obtrusive dabbler, who are constantly the plagues of [REDACTED] men, yet I cannot refrain from suggesting to your Lordship a few hints on the present important crisis. I feel so deeply [REDACTED] magnitude of the great business [REDACTED] your Lordship's attention, [REDACTED] I deem it a duty [REDACTED] furnish [REDACTED] observations [REDACTED] much reading, long observation, and a thorough knowledge of this country, present themselves [REDACTED] my mind.

To begin, without further preface, in the words of a great [REDACTED] "*Omnia [REDACTED] in tres partes divisa est.*" It is a first principle to consider the component parts of [REDACTED] population, their relative numbers, and how they stand [REDACTED] the question of Union. The population of Ireland, [REDACTED] Mr. Burke's pamphlet, calculated from the [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] hearth-tax, [REDACTED] four millions five hundred thousand. I think the number considerably greater, but [REDACTED] will [REDACTED] for my present purpose. This mass of people composes three distinct nations, [REDACTED] in character, and principles, and habits of life, as [REDACTED] Antipodes. The object [REDACTED] to form them into [REDACTED] people under the rule of the [REDACTED] constitution, and to unite, by sentiment and interest, that people to Great Britain. Our [REDACTED] may display their triumphant flags in every quarter of [REDACTED] globe; our troops may conquer, but barren [REDACTED] their laurels and [REDACTED] their triumphs, when compared to the advantages likely to result [REDACTED] Great Britain and Ireland from [REDACTED] measure in a military, commercial, and financial point of view. But, [REDACTED] proceed to delineate the mode—it is material [REDACTED] observe how [REDACTED] three [REDACTED] bodies, [REDACTED] Protestants, [REDACTED] Presbyterians, and the Catholics, [REDACTED] affected to the question of Union.

[REDACTED] Protestants, composing about 500,000 souls, [REDACTED] de- [REDACTED] [REDACTED] English colonists, possess the whole power [REDACTED] patronage, [REDACTED] almost the whole landed property of the country. They are, of course, political monopolists, and can only [REDACTED] gained by influence.

The Catholics composing [REDACTED] mass of the population [REDACTED] ing [REDACTED] least to three millions of souls, the descendants of the

original [redacted] of [redacted] who degenerated, and, in the language of the historian, not very classical but strong, became *Hibernicis ipsis Hiberniores*, are for the most part poor, uneducated, [redacted] ignorant, desiring weight almost solely [redacted] numbers, added [redacted] natural vigour of body and astuteness of mind, capable, under a proper regimen, of being modelled [redacted] the most beneficial ends, [redacted] civil and military. They are [redacted] present in the lowest [redacted] of political depression, [redacted] semi-barbarous state, (as has been truly observed) and thereby eminently qualified [redacted] the continual [redacted] on a great commercial empire, to supply her fleets and armies in every accessible quarter of the globe. These [redacted] to be gained by concession.

The Protestants are, from every motive of a monopolizing interest, determined opponents to the scheme of Union, by [redacted] they [redacted] lose that monopoly of power and profit, which it [redacted] not in [redacted] voluntarily to resign when [redacted] possessed, and [redacted] especially when it acquires, by length of possession, the semblance of a rightful title.

The Catholics are, from every motive of interest, and from [redacted] stronger principles of jealousy, competition, and hatred, disposed at any risk to get rid of their present rulers. They are impatient to emerge from slavery into the class of [redacted] [redacted] these sentiments have been strongly repelled by a certain cautious backwardness, which has been manifested in the language of all the speeches, pamphlets, and answers to their addresses. This has proceeded from a vain fear that encouraging [redacted] Catholics to expect liberal concessions would disgust and alienate the Protestants. Vain is that fear, when the Protestant knows that, by yielding to a Union, he [redacted] from the state of a *Ruler*, with all its high [redacted] profitable appurtenances, to the level of a simple citizen. Does any man think that Mr. Foster and Mr. Ponsonby are actuated by such motives!—Religion [redacted] a [redacted] pretence—the true bone [redacted] contention is the monopoly of Irish power [redacted] patronage. [redacted]

family of the latter have been undertakers; the former aspires to a similar distinction; religion independence words cajole delude the multitude. Protestant will be lost by holding out concession the Catholics, three millions of men will be gained in heart co-operate, actively and strenuously, procure and maintain great and essential change.

The concession that occurs my mind is, in the place, an alteration, rather explanation, of the Oath of Supremacy. The history of this oath is very peculiar. It was first enacted in the reign of Henry the Eighth, a furious Papist, defend himself against the usurpations of the Pope. It was by a Popish Legislature, and taken universally and without scruple by a Popish laity and clergy, both in England and in Ireland. This Act was afterwards repealed under Queen Mary, and again re-enacted, with very considerable alterations, in the second year of Queen Elizabeth. In the Oath of Supremacy required by the statute of Henry the Eighth, he declared *sole Head of the Church of England*. This first gave no offence to the conscience of the most rigid Catholic, it understood only to import a civil supremacy, by no interfering with the spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope. Besides, distinction was well known and had been recognised by repeated statutes, particularly by the Statutes of Provision, Provisors, and Premunire, enacted under Popish Princes in Popish times, and which were enacted merely to repel the encroachments of the Popes on the civil jurisdiction of Kings. This kind of supremacy was likewise asserted by the Kings of France invariably, and was enforced by their Parliament vigilance and vigour.

But, the interval between the first and second Oath of Supremacy, the of the had been formed, who revived spirit of Papal encroachment, new and, till then, unheard-of scruples to King of England being *Supreme Head of the Church*. Queen Elizabeth, with great

temper ■■■ magnanimity, ■■■ to enter into a ■■■ dispute, and omitted this expression in the new Oath, and so ■■■ has remained ever since. But the Jesuits were still active and persevering, and, contrary to all sense and reason, started ■■■ scruples as ■■■ allowing any ecclesiastical supremacy, ■■■ quibbled and perverted the import of the ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ spiritual and not ■■■ civil supremacy. In vain ■■■ all the lawyers of the time expound the new oath to mean nothing more than was before established by the Statute ■■■ common Law of England from time immemorial.

■■■ ■■■ ■■■ speech of ■■■ John Davis on ■■■ subject, ■■■ ■■■ Council ■■■ when ■■■ ■■■ Attorney-General of Ireland, ■■■ the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, explaining ■■■ ■■■ Catholics of Ireland the meaning and import of this oath, in order ■■■ induce ■■■ ■■■ take it. But the Irish Popish Clergy, educated then as they have been ever since, until lately, in seminaries instituted under Philip the Second in the Low Countries, in ■■■ formulary instituted by the Jesuits in the plenitude of religious and political perversion, overruled the law and argument of Sir John Davis, and persuaded the Irish Catholics to a man to refuse the oath. This refusal, once established under the colour and pretence of conscience, ■■■ been persevered in ever since, and is now, as it was then and since, ■■■ sole bar ■■■ ■■■ Irish or English Catholic holding any office of trust or profit under the Crown.

■■■ Oath, I submit to your Lordship, might in these times, when the Papal temporal and spiritual powers are extinct, and in no shape to be dreaded, be so framed in clear and explicit ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ import nothing more than the sovereign Supremacy ■■■ the King of England over ■■■ his subjects of every religious persuasion. Thereby the royal prerogative would be extended, by enabling ■■■ Majesty to avail himself of ■■■ voices of all his subjects, and no danger could be apprehended to the Established Church, as such prerogative must be exercised by a Protestant King, and no other. ■■■ have been led insensibly

into a greater length on this subject than I first intended, the great importance of it excuse me your Lordship, I again and again repeat it your Lordship, that, without comprehending the [] in interest and principle, a Union between the two countries can be neither [] nor useful.

In [] explanation of the Oath of Supremacy, it will be necessary to enlighten the expounders of it, namely, the Catholic clergy. A step has been already [] by establishing the College of Maynooth. But there is a radical defect in this institution, which requires to be remedied. The leaven of the old Jesuitical formulary is retained, which is no more adapted to these times than Ignatius Loyola would be to [] the code of Union.

His Majesty, by virtue of his royal prerogative, has the superintendence of the education of his subjects, and has the power of framing statutes for the discipline and [] to be observed in Universities and Colleges. This power has been frequently exercised, and I am [] why it may not be beneficially exercised again, by substituting a rational system of classical, scientific, religious, and moral education, for the perverted and mischievous scholastic jargon of the Flemish seminaries. Besides, I think this College ought to be incorporated with another University; either in Dublin, or the one intended for Armagh, or [] other. My object is to have the youth of the kingdom, whether Protestant or Catholic, educated together as they are in Holland and many parts of Germany. The union arising from youthful friendships is the strongest and most durable, and would tend much to reconcile the next generation to each other.

In that my ideas go still farther. I think his Majesty ought to be invested with the patronage of Popish bishoprics and other Popish dignities, as the French king is all times in order to create that necessary dependence, which ought all times to subsist, of the clergy on the Crown. This would, in fact, incorporate and unite for ever, politically, the reli-

gions, and the State would be reaping the [] of civil obediences, [] disputing [] harmless position of Transubstantiation. But I [] not sure that things are quite ripe for [] measure yet, but sure I am [] [] ripe for making a decent provision for the [] Clergy and a commutation of Tithes, which [] only [] obnoxious but a most baneful system, destructive of the industry [] agriculture of the country.

The [] of Irish subjects, the Presbyterians of [] North, are so well known to your Lordship, that [] would be a presumption in [] say anything about them. They [] entirely indifferent as to what form of monarchical government they are doomed by their hard fate to live under. If they cannot have the blessings of civil [] well [] ecclesiastical equality, they become so [] to all political concerns, [] they will not quit their looms or bleach-greens for a day to repair [] their county towns to express their [] to or [] from the trivial question of Union. Napper Tandy could arm them; but neither the disinterested patriotism of Mr. Foster [] the venerable shade of Lord Charlemont can excite the smallest exertion in [] odious cause of Monarchy. They are *neutral*, and not to be meddled with. You see, my Lord, that I write with the most unreserved confidence, being aware that I repose both my follies and indiscretions in a friendly and honourable asylum. [] have scarcely [] room [] express the [] of respect and esteem with which I have [] honour [] be, &c.,

LUKE FOX.

Colonel Littlehales to Lord Castlereagh.

Belfast, October 2, 1799.

My dear Lord—Nothing could have succeeded better than Lord Cornwallis's visit to this place: all classes [] descriptions of persons have been forward in manifesting every mark of respect and attention to his Excellency; [] the men who did not, *for certain reasons*, subscribe to the dinner given to

my Lord-Lieutenant by the Corporation and principal [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] the Bishop of Down and Dr. Halliday. It [REDACTED] generally and indeed unequivocally considered as [REDACTED] pledge [REDACTED] support the [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] Excellency's administration.

Mr. May [REDACTED] been [REDACTED] and active in the arrangements in favour of Union, and [REDACTED] been personally attentive [REDACTED] Lord Cornwallis in [REDACTED] respects. [REDACTED] Excellency [REDACTED] highly pleased with [REDACTED] conduct, and begs your Lordship [REDACTED] have the goodness to show all possible civility. It [REDACTED] an object of consideration to return Mr. May for [REDACTED] of the [REDACTED]. He would probably take [REDACTED] decided and manly part; [REDACTED] appears to have great sway and influence with the people of this town, but it [REDACTED] doubtful whether he would purchase.

I send your Lordship a list of the persons that [REDACTED] present at the dinner given to the Lord-Lieutenant. I also enclose a sketch of his Excellency's route. He will scarcely reach Dublin before the 28th instant. [REDACTED] it is [REDACTED] object to visit Newry, I beg [REDACTED] receive [REDACTED] line from your Lordship by return of the post.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

The Bishop of Down wished [REDACTED] have subscribed and to have [REDACTED] to the dinner; but, as the presence of an avowed enemy [REDACTED] the Union would have interfered with the object of [REDACTED] meeting, [REDACTED] was conveyed to him, in terms that could [REDACTED] give offence, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] would be better he should not be present.

Mr. Marsden to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, October 10, 1799.

My Lord—All perfectly quiet here, and Union [REDACTED] gaining ground.

I send your Lordship a copy of information as to the progress of a new rising. [REDACTED] comes from a friend of Mr. [REDACTED]

in the Customs House. I cannot say that it occasions much alarm in my mind. The servants probably act santly in have heretofore too freely in their

I also a copy of a letter received here, wholly uninteresting, which relates to the Island of Jamaica, who corroborate opinion of who think the India, rather than Ireland, is the object of the French.

Your Lordship's, &c.,

ALEXANDER MARDEN.

1793, 1794

I have received information from a Papist, who is a moderate man, and rather loyal than otherwise. He hinted the business in accidental conversation, and I invited him to dine; and, over a bottle of champagne, I received the following information.

He has property in the City, and a tract of land in the County Kildare. He employs constantly about twenty labourers; his wife, he says, is a stanch rebel, and in the secret of everything that is to happen; but, as he is moderate, she refuses to communicate him her sentiments; but he has sufficient hints from others to conclude that, in about two weeks, there is likely to be great confusion.

Says Popish women are to take an active part, and are armed; thinks a massacre of all rich heads of families may be the object.

Papists consent to a Union because it will ruin this kingdom, and are so disappointed and exasperated against Government, they would destroy the Government, lives, and with them.

Says the execution of Byrne in Wicklow has many labourers to quit the County Kildare, supposed through fear of being apprehended.

Says that, since the execution of Byrne, meetings have

taken place, ■■■■■ Papists have lost confidence ■■■ Government.

Says ■■■ the soldiery in general ■■ to ■■■ part in the intended revolt.

Says that, having shown ■■ unwillingness to listen to the ■■■■ some time back, he is ■■ suspected person, and ■■■■ to go to sleep at his farm, which is near the demesne of Mr. Stenny, ■■ Straffon, and ■■■■ Lord Cloncurry's house.

Says ■■■ Cloncurry House, and the house of Stenny, ■■ Straffon, ■■■■ grand place for nightly meetings.

Says ■■■ houses are only in the ■■■ of servants.

Says ■■ ■■ yesterday advised by a Papist resident ■■■ his farm neither to buy winter stock for his farm ■■■ sleep in the country.

From my own observation, ■■■ Papist servants in country and town have shown the last week every degree of daring insolence, particularly the women, some of whom behaved humble and proper during the Rebellion, but ■■■■ perfectly indifferent whether their conduct is approved ■■ disapproved, and throw out hints of something that will ■■■■ to pass. I have observed this in my own family, and my neighbours' ■■■■ in like manner.

A letter to the Rev. William Miller, of Six-mile Bridge, from his sister in Jamaica, gives an alarming ■■■■ of the political ■■■■ of the Island. A vast number of United Irishmen, transported from this kingdom, have been ■■■■ there, and incautiously drafted into the regiments ■■ that service. As soon as they got arms into their hands, they deserted, ■■■ fled into the mountains, where they have been joined by large bodies of the natives and such of the French ■■ were in the island. There have already been ■■■■ engagements between ■■■ party ■■■ the King's troops; several have been ■■■■ wounded ■■ both sides. At ■■ time of the evacuation of St. Domingo, several French ■■■■ accompanied the other

fugitives to Jamaica, and several of them have been active agents in promoting among the natives a spirit of ■■■■ and ■ wish for revolution. Some officers who were taken during the time our forces were in St. Domingo have obtained ■■■■ liberty ■■■■ joined their respective regiments in Jamaica; ■■■■ them ■ ■ major, ■ ■■■■ of Hovenden's. ■■■■ gentle- ■■■■ ■■■■ several conversations with General Toussaint on ■■■■ practicability of invading Jamaica. The ■■■■ repeatedly declared ■■■■ such design ■■■■ a favourite object with the French Government, and ■■■■ their friends ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ contributing hastily to facilitate the plan, which would soon be ready to execute.

The Rev. Dr. Troy to Mr. B. Marshall.

Dublin, October 12, 1799.

My dear Sir—I sit down to mention ■■■■ particulars, for Lord Castlereagh's information, which I think ■ ■ duty to communicate, and shall begin by remarking that the enclosed half-sheet ■■■■ published by M'Kensie, in College Green, and most industriously circulated in ■■■■ parts of the kingdom. Be- ■■■■ it ■■■■ published in this form, Lord Castlereagh had told Dr. Moylan that he had received ■ declaration, somewhat similar, ■■■■ the ■■■■ of the County Wexford, with ■ request ■ have ■ published by Government, which his Lordship, very wisely, ■■■■ ■■■■ comply with, from ■ conviction that such a publication, in these times, could only ■■■■ the flame of party ■■■■ without producing any good effect whatever.

After reading it with astonishment and concern, I wrote to Dr. ■■■■ ■■■■ information on the subject. The following is ■■■■ ■■■■ verbatim, in his letter to me, dated Wexford, September 30, 1799:—

“ I am pestered with packets of Beaghan's declaration from Dublin by post, under anonymous covers, filled with the most abusive language and threats, for which I likewise pay the

postage. This Beaghan, or Beahan, had been described to me, some weeks before his execution, as little better than an idiot, infected with mischievous dispositions. I of him from a respectable person, who lodged in where Beaghan was a servant. However, when of pronounced against him, he for a priest, who the day before, and on very day of his execution, the jail here, when he appeared (though somewhat wild and scared) very penitent, and received the with apparent devotion. During these two days, Mr. Boyd Wilson visited him, and, as he told the priest, questioned him, 'Were there concealed country?' answered he not know, that perhaps there might be; but, if there were, they could never appear, they could be found. They then asked him, 'Were there many priests the camp of Vinegar Hill, particularly were there any of the Wexford town clergy there?' Answer, No, he no clergymen there, but Kearns and General Murphy. Beaghan's declaration to the priest. No clergyman attended the execution; but, immediately before it took place, Mr. Boyd asked the convict, in the presence of all that attended, 'Was declaration he had made to him true?' (but mentioned particular). Beaghan answered, it was—that he might rely on every word of it. Now, I leave you to judge whether, from these materials, any speech might not be framed, who will believe or condemn it." far Doctor Caulfield.

Another publication or edition of Beahan's declaration appeared in Dublin Journal of Tuesday last, which I likewise enclose. only in substance from M'Kensie's in omitting explicit mention of the priests. Any person believing either naturally, and indeed justly too, wish the extermination of Catholics this kingdom. Judge then of the impression make those who rejoice any pretext persecute them. There too many guilty, principle of religion, which inculcates the

forgiveness even of enemies, but from the want of any religion, made them the dupes of atheists, freethinkers, and traitors.

The guilty be too severely punished, is as impolitic as is cruel and uncharitable to confound them with the innocent loyal. Of these there were many, in the County of Wexford. It may, therefore, be reasonably that, if Beaghan really made the in question, have been stupidly insensible.

In consequence of my conversations with Lord Castlereagh Colonel Littlehales, the intended Proclamation of Council against chapel-burners, &c., in the County of Wexford, I assured Dr. Caulfield it would be issued. It has yet appeared, can it now, until the return of his Excellency from the North. On inquiry at the Council Office, Mr. M'Kay informed that affidavits had been given to the Attorney-General, who is in the County Tipperary. I am disappointed and concerned at this unforeseen delay, not only because the Proclamation was expected in the country with anxiety, but principally because the avail themselves of the occasion to impose on the ignorant, by artfully insinuating that Government is indifferent about them and their chapels, and leaves them defenceless against the excesses of a party peculiarly hostile to Catholics in the County.

The principle of reprobation and detestation of such outrages has been, as Lord Castlereagh observed to me, established by Government in the Proclamation issued against those who burned Kilmurry Chapel, in the County of Wicklow; but, his Lordship added, it is necessary likewise to notice, in a particular in the County Wexford. I shall urge this at his Excellency's return hither, and hope Lord Castlereagh will assist me. I beg my best compliments respects to his Lordship.

You will observe, by our public papers, that the question of Union is daily gaining ground. The Catholics are coming

forward in [redacted] parts in favour of the measure, which [redacted] generality of [redacted] consider [redacted] [redacted] only protection against [redacted] [redacted] seemingly intent on their defamation and destruction. I do [redacted] despair of an Address from the Catholics of this city, who, from local and other circumstances, have hitherto been silent, [redacted] [redacted] meeting of Parliament.

Excesses [redacted] daily committing in the County Wexford, [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] upper parts of the County Wicklow. Within the last and present months, two chapels have been burned and [redacted] greatly injured. Attempts [redacted] made [redacted] destroy others, [redacted] [redacted] by the exertions of loyal dispassionate Protestants. I prevailed [redacted] a clergyman to go to Arklow, which had been without [redacted] priest since [redacted] December, when the Rev. [redacted] Ryan [redacted] murdered. He went there with [redacted] strong protection from Government, which recommended him also to General Eustace and Colonel Cowper, of the Sligo Militia. The latter behaves [redacted] becomes [redacted] lover of peace, but candidly told the clergyman, Mr. Kearns, he could not control the violence of the yeomanry. Mr. [redacted] was obliged to lodge [redacted] the inn. Every Catholic and well-disposed Protestant, however willing to accommodate him, refused [redacted] from dread of the consequences. [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] out by night, nor far from the town, and his life is threatened and his person insulted [redacted] opprobriously. Thus circumstanced, [redacted] cannot insist [redacted] [redacted] remaining there, nor can I expect that any clergyman will venture to replace him. [redacted] Smith, a Protestant of the town, [redacted] [redacted] barn to Mr. Kearns [redacted] celebrate mass in it, but without effect, [redacted] [redacted] threatened with death for his humanity. Mr. Kearns [redacted] within [redacted] walls of the old chapel which [redacted] burned, protected by a military guard ordered by Colonel Cowper.

I could fill sheets in detailing similar instances of prejudice [redacted] violence in Wexford [redacted] Wicklow Counties, [redacted] I shall spare Lord Castlereagh and you [redacted] disgusting narrative. As [redacted] the General commanding in the Wicklow district, I wish [redacted] was employed in some county where rebellion [redacted]

raged. Pardon the uncommon length of this letter, and
with perfect esteem and regard,

Yours, &c., J. T. TROY.

I took the liberty of desiring Rev. Mr. Fallon,
No. 9, Street, Portman Square, London, you, and of assuring him you would take charge of any parcel
might have to

An Authentic Account of the Behaviour, Conduct, Confession of James Beaghan, who executed on Vinegar Hill, on Saturday, day of August, 1799, before Wilson, Esq., High Sheriff of County of Wexford, and J. H. Lytton, Esq., one of the Justices of the Peace for the said County.

The day but before his execution, two Popish Priests to visit him, and upon their entering cell, he exclaimed against them in these words—"Bogone from me, you accursed, who have been the of my eternal damnation; for, were it not for you, I never would have been guilty of murder!" Having said, he turned from them, and requested that they might be put out; and, in some short time after, he requested Captain Boyd might be for, to whom he made the following confession.

"I, James Beaghan, acknowledge and confess I am guilty of the crime for which I am to suffer, but that I not commit from till will to the people that murdered, from the order of Luke Byrne:¹ I could disobey him—no person dare refuse to obey the orders of the Commanders. I am sure that any man in command could save the lives of the poor; every man that was a Protestant was called an Orangeman, and every one was to be killed, from the poorest man in the country. Before the Rebellion, I never heard there was any hatred between Protestants; they always lived peaceably toge-

¹ A Commander of the

ther. I always found [redacted] Protestants better masters, and more indulgent landlords, [redacted] my own religion. During the Rebellion, I [redacted] any one interfere [redacted] prevent murder but one Byrne, who saved a [redacted] I [redacted] all that were present [redacted] guilty [redacted] those that perpetrated the murders. [redacted] thinking [redacted] all equally guilty, that prevented me from flying the country. The women [redacted] numerous, [redacted] were as bad as the [redacted]. The Rebels treated the prisoners [redacted] great severity: very different from the way [redacted] I have been used in gaol. They thought it no more sin to kill a Protestant than a dog. Had it not been that they were so [redacted] quashed, they would have fought with each other for [redacted] property of the Protestants: they [redacted] beginning before the battle of Vinegar Hill. Ever since the Rebellion, I never heard one of the Rebels express the least sorrow for what was done; [redacted] the contrary, I have heard them say, that they [redacted] sorry, whilst they had the power, they [redacted] not kill more, [redacted] that there were not half enough killed. I know that the [redacted] were determined to rise, if the French should come; and I believe they did not give up half their [redacted]. There are guns, bayonets, and pikes hid in the country.

"*.*: Now, gentlemen, remember what I tell you; [redacted] you and the Protestants are ever in the power of the Catholics again, as they are now in yours, they will not leave one of you alive; you will all go smack smooth; [redacted] them that campaigned with them, [redacted] things [redacted] gone well with them, would, in the end, have been killed; [redacted] have heard them say so many times."

[redacted] before us, August 23, 1799.

CHRISTIAN WILSON, Sheriff,
J. H. LYSTER, Justice P.

his
JAMES — BRAGHAN,
mark.

¹ "From this mark Braghan speaks without having been asked any questions, and spoke with an earnestness and in a manner that showed [redacted] sincerity."

Having arrived at the place of execution, Captain Boyd brought him aside, and read his confession, and asked him if it was correctly taken down, to which he answered in the affirmative. Just as the executioner was about to hang him off, he called out, saying, "Stop!" and, lifting up his cap, said, with a very loud voice, "Captain Boyd, you have taken down my confession perfectly correct: if it were not for the Priests, I should have been guilty of murder, I have dragged five unfortunate persons out of the windmill who were murdered." Amongst these five was the son of old Minchin, the carpenter.

To the Printer of the Dublin Journal.

Sir—Having lately seen a printed paper, purporting to be an authentic account of the behaviour, conduct, and confession of James Beaghan, who was executed at Vinegar Hill, on Saturday, the 24th day of August, 1799, taken before Christian Wilson, Esq., High Sheriff of the County of Wexford, J. H. Lyster, and James Boyd, Esqs., two of the Justices of Peace for the said County, I thought it incumbent on me thus publicly to declare that the account was printed without my knowledge: and that there are parts of it of the truth of which we are wholly ignorant. To prevent further misrepresentation, we think it proper to state what did come within our knowledge.

On the trial of James Beaghan, when the evidence clearly proved against him, he exclaimed (in a manner that struck every person in Court most forcibly) that he would, before he died, do what he knew. This expression gave us hopes that he might make some discoveries, which induced us to go to him the night before his execution: we found him impressed with a proper sense of his unhappy situation, and as penitent as any criminal we ever witnessed. He told us he knew that the only reparation he could then make for his crimes was freely to acknowledge and confess all he knew; that he would, in the strictest regard to truth, answer every ques-

tion we asked [redacted] Our wish was to find out [redacted] [redacted] the [redacted] to commit such cruelties, and whether they were [redacted] convinced that they had been misled by [redacted] who had encouraged them. For this purpose we asked him several questions, to which his answers were as follows:—I acknowledge and confess that I [redacted] guilty of the crime for which I am to suffer; [redacted] that I did not commit it from ill will [redacted] [redacted] people who [redacted] murdered, but from the order of Luke Byrne. I could [redacted] disobey him—no one dare refuse to obey the orders of the Commanders. We [redacted] told that every Protestant was an Orangeman, and every one was to be killed, from [redacted] poorest [redacted] in the County. They thought [redacted] no more sin to kill a Protestant than a dog. Before the Rebellion, I [redacted] heard there [redacted] any hatred between Roman Catholics and Protestants; they always lived peaceably together. I always found the Protestants better masters, and more indulgent landlords, than those of our own religion. During the Rebellion, I [redacted] knew any one interfere to prevent murder but one Byrne, who saved a man. I am sure that any man in command could [redacted] the lives of the poor people. I did not fly the country, because I thought that [redacted] that [redacted] present [redacted] as guilty as those who committed the murders; for what [redacted] the difference, if they did [redacted] try [redacted] prevent them! The [redacted] [redacted] were numerous, and as bad as the men: in short, [redacted] you took up every Catholic in the County, you would not be astray. I never, since the Rebellion, heard [redacted] of the [redacted] express the least [redacted] for what [redacted] done; [redacted] the contrary, I have heard them [redacted] that they [redacted] sorry, whilst they [redacted] the power, they had not killed more, and that there were not half enough killed. They treated their prisoners with great severity: very [redacted] from the way I have been used in gaol. [redacted] they not been so [redacted] quashed, they would have fought [redacted] [redacted] other [redacted] the property of the Protestants: they [redacted] beginning [redacted] [redacted] battle of Vinegar [redacted] I know they are determined [redacted] rise, if the French should come; and believe they [redacted] [redacted]

give up their arms: there are guns, bayonets, and pikes hid in the country.

Here we put any question to him, but he, of his own accord, came up to the table at which we were seated, and, in a solemn and impressive manner, addressed us;—"Now, gentlemen, remember the words of a dying man—remember what I tell you—if you and the Protestants in the power of the Catholics again, as they are in yours, they will not leave one of you alive; you will all go smack smooth those that campaigned them, if things had gone with them, would in the end have been killed. I have say so many times."

CHRISTIAN WILSON, Sheriff.

JOHN H. LYSTER.

On the 24th of August last, I was ordered, with my corps, to proceed to Vinegar Hill, where James Beaghan was to be executed. I there asked him, the presence of two officers, if what he told the Sheriff the day before was true. He it was. When he was on the ladder and the cap over his face, he requested it might be lifted up, and that I might be called. I accordingly went up the ladder to him, when he addressed me in a solemn manner, and said, "Captain Boyd, this is an awful moment, in which I would not venture a lie; as I dying I declare every word I told the Sheriff was strictly true." I asked him he wished I should the people what he said. replied in the affirmative. I immediately did so, when unhappy cried out as loud as he could, "Yes, yes, it is true!" These were his last words.¹

JAMES BOYD, Captain, Wexford Cavalry.

¹ The Rev. Doctors Troy and Caulfield, Roman Catholic Bishops, it will be observed, would soon have it thought that Beaghan, a member of their own communion, was "little better than idiot." How little ground there can be for this plea, in extenuation, must be evident from the testimony of the magistrates, who attended his execution, which exhibits no indications of an unsound or even of a weak mind.

to Lord Castlereagh.

Castle, October 14,

My Lord—In your letter which I received from Colonel Littlehales, he says that your Excellency wishes I should write to your Lordship upon the subject of the probable scarcity of corn in this kingdom, and the expediency of stopping the distilleries, which are now working with great activity, with a view to exporting the spirits to Great Britain.

The accounts from all parts of the country are in the ruinous state of the harvest, and the prices are already considerably raised. Our Commissary-General has damaged flour for a higher price than he bought it good.

His Excellency is very desirous that a stop should be put to distilling; but I believe this cannot be done but by an act of Parliament. I send your Lordship the Corn Acts, as you may wish, on this occasion, to refer to them; but I do not find that they give any power to the Lord-Lieutenant or Council to issue a Proclamation to this effect, nor, on inquiry, has such been issued here. It will, besides, materially affect the people in this country.

I wish your Lordship would send Claude Scott, who knows more than any other person of the mode by which supplies of corn can be had. He might manage to secure some cargoes for us; and it might happen that the vessels should arrive here at such a time as should raise the opinion of the benefits which may derive from communication with England.

Mr. [redacted] arrived here last night. I have written Mr. Cooke upon matters which I do repeat to your Lordship. I send you a letter which I received to-day from Stewart; and, if you are of his opinion as to the Tyrone and Donegal Resolutions, your Lordship will let me know.

Your very faithful, &c.,

ALEXANDER MARSDEN.

to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, 17,

My dear Lord Castlereagh—The brought by is, indeed, most disheartening. Although there is reason to expect disaster in Switzerland, after the Archduke had withdrawn his wing from it, one was not prepared for such and overwhelming defeats. I cherish a hope that there is much exaggeration in the French accounts: at the same time, it has not in general proved that their reports of victories have exceeded the truth. These successes of enemy will give great spirit and energy to the Rebels of country. General Lake, who is recently returned from the North, says the people in that part of the kingdom appeared more ripe for mischief. None of the information which Marsden has received affords any ground for believing that they are actuated by any immediate prospect of assistance from France; and Toler,¹ who is just come to town from Tipperary, is confident that there will be no movement in that quarter without an invasion. A communication has been made to Marsden of an intended attack on Dublin, but I conceive any credit to be given to it.

You will have heard from that the Union is likely meet with opposition in Roscommon, and that a meeting for the discussion of it is summoned for the 2d of month. Anti-Unionists here I suspect, beginning rally again. I am told that they are setting on foot an Anti-Union newspaper. I understand, too, that a subscription has commenced in of the for defraying the expence

¹ John Toler was appointed Solicitor-General in 1789, and succeeded Mr. Wolfe (Lord Kilwarden), as Attorney-General. In 1800, he was elevated to the Bench as Chief-Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and to the Peerage by the title of Baron, and, at a later period, Earl of Norbury.

The Lord-Lieutenant has [redacted] for the lesser bounty, and Lord Westmeath, who [redacted] the only Colonel I have had [redacted] opportunity of seeing, [redacted] positive [redacted] will be sufficient.

Farewell! and believe me ever most truly yours,

W. E.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

Dublin Castle, October 18, 1799.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—Your letter of the 14th has just reached me, and I have lost no time in forwarding its [redacted] closure to Lord Londonderry. [redacted] am truly sorry for your brother.¹ Considering, however, the nature of the service, and that he [redacted] unsparing of his person where there is danger, it is well it is not worse. I assure you I have, ever since he has been in Holland, felt very great anxiety about him. In a public point of view, I [redacted] help thinking it fortunate that the result of the action was not such as to encourage perseverance in the expedition. A progress in Holland, with a heavy waste of troops, would have been no advance towards the main object of the war.

I have nothing worth relating [redacted] tell you to-day. I am going ~~on Sunday~~ to meet the Lord-Lieutenant, who [redacted] to-day to dinner.

The mail of the 15th is this moment arrived, and I find that it is known here that your brother is wounded; but Lord Londonderry will receive the intelligence by the express long before it can reach him through any other channel.

Farewell. [redacted] am glad to learn from Cooke's letters to Marden that your business is going on rapidly. Your presence here is indubitably desirable; but, considering the importance of your present occupation, and that there are very few persons in Dublin, I cannot perceive any necessity for your

¹ The present Marquess of Londonderry, who accompanied the expedition sent, in September, to Holland, where he was severely wounded.

putting yourself to any inconvenient degree of haste with respect to your return.

Believe me ever most affectionately yours,
W. E.

Littlehales to Lord Castlereagh.

Phoenix Park, Dublin, 18, 1799.

My Lord—Lord Cornwallis has just returned to Dublin, and has received your Lordship's letter, with the melancholy news of our disasters in Ireland. Your Excellency sincerely hopes Colonel Stewart's wound is slight. An express had been sent to Lord Londonderry to acquaint him with the situation of your brother, and that you have reason to hope his wound is not very severe.

Lord Cornwallis's tour, I am confident, has been productive of the most salutary effects in the North, and will tend to forward essentially the great object in contemplation. Your Excellency has addressed me in favour of the petition in Antrim, Belfast, whence I wrote to your Lordship, Coleraine Londonderry, Strabane, Lifford, Castledin, and by the City and County of Londonderry. We this day passed through Drogheda; but the Speaker's friends, &c., &c., Your Excellency's visit, has frustrated the wishes of Mr. Smyth, Mr. Vanhomrighs, &c., to address him.

I write in haste, but have the honour to remain, &c.,

E. LITTLEHALES.

Mr. [] letter [] moment been delivered to me. The Lord-Lieutenant will write the Duke of Portland to-morrow, by the messenger that brought Grace's despatch.

Colonel Littlehales to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, October 19, 1799.

My dear Lord—I wrote to you last night to acquaint you of Lord Cornwallis's return from his northern excursion. His

Excellency now [redacted] me to say that in his letter of [redacted] day's date to the Duke of Portland, he [redacted] expressed [redacted] unequivocally [redacted] decidedly against the suggestion which [redacted] Grace has thrown [redacted] of Russian troops being sent to Ireland. He considers [redacted] step, in [redacted] respects, objectionable, and [redacted] [redacted] would tend more to create internal disquietude than [redacted] measure that could be proposed, and its adoption would, in all probability, furnish [redacted] unanswerable argument to [redacted] Anti-Unionists, who would necessarily affirm that the Legislative Union could only be carried [redacted] the point of the bayonet by foreign troops.

I have the honour [redacted] be, &c.,

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, October 19, [redacted]

My dear Lord Castlereagh—As Marsden is to write to you, [redacted] will, of course, send you [redacted] the particulars of the proceedings of the Common Council of Dublin, which [redacted] held yesterday, and at which [redacted] resolution [redacted] passed hostile to [redacted] Union. The resolution [redacted] afterwards confirmed by a meeting of the Aldermen. There [redacted] more than nine Aldermen present, of whom, two only, Alexander and Exshaw, voted against the resolution. Alderman James divided with the majority, for which he ought [redacted] lose his employment. It is said to be in contemplation to [redacted] another meeting of Aldermen in the course of a fortnight, for [redacted] purpose of obtaining a ratification of the [redacted] proceeding. I cannot help thinking that, by a little exertion, a majority might be secured in the Court of Aldermen; but Marsden tells me that Lees rather advises against any [redacted] on the part of Government. [redacted] know [redacted] on what he grounds this opinion; but I am [redacted] see [redacted] to-morrow, and shall have [redacted] opportunity [redacted] talking [redacted] the subject.

[redacted] Lord-Lieutenant is returned, highly gratified [redacted]

of his excursion, speaks very sanguinely of the Union in the North. An from Corporation inhabitants of Monaghan to him Caledon, but, unfortunately, did not arrive till an hour he was gone. he had received it, intended to have Monaghan. I hope, however, the address will be Dublin, that may be published for the mortification of Dawson. Lord Cornwallis the province Ulster to in the most perfect tranquillity. The are very unpleasant, and justify the apprehension of a rapid system of organization in part of kingdom. There is a letter, too, from the High several Magistrates of the King's County, suggesting the expediency of establishing military tribunals there.

Lord Cornwallis desires ■■■ no ■■■ cavalry may be sent to Ireland. As it will be practicable for the English Government, ■■■ return of the Duke of York's army, to give us British troops, he hopes that the design of sending ■■■ will be relinquished. He ■■■ the ■■■ might be made ■■■ subject of misrepresentation in the country by the Anti-Unionists; and, from the reports he has received of their ■■■ of discipline, ■■■ apprehensive that they might commit great ■■■ do much mischief.

Farewell. I am in the greatest haste.

Believe me most truly yours,

W. E.

Do [redacted] neglect to send me any further [redacted] you may have of your brother.

Lord Castlereagh to Lord De Clifford.

Private.

London, October 23, 1799.

My dear Lord—I had the honour of receiving your letter of the 21st this morning; and, — I cannot entertain a very sanguine hope, however much I should wish it, of having ■ in

my power to pay my respects at King's Weston, I trouble you with this letter — an imperfect substitute for what I should have wished to communicate — you in person.

I should do very great injustice to the Government of [REDACTED] countries, if I did not endeavour to impress on your Lordship the sense entertained by his Majesty's [REDACTED] of the very decided and valuable support they have been in the [REDACTED] of receiving from your Lordship, [REDACTED] their extreme anxiety [REDACTED] I should [REDACTED] withdrawn — a measure, on which, in [REDACTED] judgment, the security of the Empire depends. They are fully sensible that, on a question of such magnitude, they [REDACTED] expect your Lordship to surrender your opinion to theirs; but, as they never [REDACTED] to apprehend that you [REDACTED] any decided objection to the principle of the measure, they [REDACTED] nestly hope that the cordial disposition which has [REDACTED] shown by most of the counties and trading towns of Ireland, in the [REDACTED] of the summer, to [REDACTED] adoption of it, will remove much of your Lordship's apprehension of any serious discontents being likely to arise out of its agitation, and induce your Lordship to afford your assistance to [REDACTED] Majesty's Government on the present important occasion.

When I had the pleasure of seeing your Lordship in Dublin, I then mentioned to you my sanguine hope that the future representation of Ireland might be so managed as not to call on the individuals interested in the present system for any undue sacrifice of private interest for the public advantage. From [REDACTED] consideration the subject has since undergone, I can assure your Lordship that every person interested will receive a full compensation for their existing rights.

The impression that I had of the constitution of the Corporation of Kinsale led me to imagine that [REDACTED] was nearly as [REDACTED] Downpatrick. The difficulty of applying compensation in that kind of borough is obvious: I am not without hopes, however, that the arrangement may be so made as to [REDACTED] Kinsale [REDACTED] Downpatrick represented by one

in the British Parliament, which place those towns on a footing with the most considerable in Ireland (Dublin and Cork excepted), in point of value, even to a person less connected with the country than your Lordship, be admitted to equal, if not to exceed, that at which Irish Boroughs could be estimated, even were they both of a description likely to involve their patron in any maintain them. I have thrown out a outline your Lordship's consideration. I am glad, as early as convenient, to be acquainted with your Lordship's sentiments on the subject, and I shall be happy to give explanation on other points connected with the measure on which your Lordship may wish to receive information.

I beg your Lordship to believe that I am always, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Phoenix Park, October 26, 1799.

My dear Lord—Your letter, dated the 24th, which I have received this morning, has afforded me great satisfaction. I had no doubt of Mr. Pitt's powers to accomplish the difficult task, or of his disposition to act in the most liberal manner towards this country; but I was afraid that the various engagements of the times would have prevented his giving the unremitting attention which the nature of the business required, and that the conclusion was still distant.

Our troubles from the South continue to be of the same fluctuating nature as they have appeared for some time. One post brings expectation of an immediate rising, the next Lake, who at Clonmel, listens sometimes to the alarmists, and, at others, is more confident. I confess that I have no idea of a serious insurrection without the landing of a foreign force.

I have just learned that the Chancellor's steward has been

murdered at Mount Shannon : some of the labourers are taken up on suspicion.

Marston to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, 17th Decr 1799.

My Lord—I am sorry to hear to-day the account of the murder of the Chancellor's steward is confirmed. A letter has been written to Sir James Duff, desiring him to offer a reward, and use every exertion for the discovery of the murderers; and this day the Lord-Lieutenant has caused a Proclamation to be issued for the same purpose.

I mistook, in my letter of yesterday, when I spoke of Lord Belmore's having an interest in the Borough of Athboy—it is Lord Darnley's, and we have reason, I believe, to reckon upon his Lordship's support. Your Excellency is inclined to write to Lord D. to get the same for Mr. Singleton.

We are not getting forward in Roscommon. One of the Kings is to town to-day, and I have just spoken to about permitting his agent to give encouragement to his tenantry to come forward, who, my friend there writes me, are not inclined to come forward without such intimation.

I send a list of persons who are likely to act hostilely, in case of a County meeting in Donegal.

Colonel Littlehales will no doubt send your Lordship the substance of General Lake's letter, who mentions the renewal of houghing in the county of Tipperary, and the general bad appearances there. From the County of Limerick we have informations, which, if true, are sufficient to cause alarm. A letter from Mr. John Massey there is dated about to-day, giving but a very bad account. In Dublin, there is nothing to be apprehended but from the lowest orders. I am sure there are no executive nor leaders. Some combinations among the trades to raise wages add just to the alarm of the metropolis.

I send your Lordship the last returns of the prices of corn,

[REDACTED] beg leave to say that I entirely concur [REDACTED] your Lordship in your opinion of the inexpediency of stopping the distilleries. A letter goes to the Duke of Portland, in answer to one from his Grace, inquiring whether [REDACTED] could spare any oats and beans to England, which has been civilly refused by his Excellency.

I have [REDACTED] in saying that our prospects as to corn improve. The last few days have been fine in the North; [REDACTED] a person who arrived from Derry to-day speaks of the harvest in the [REDACTED] as having assumed a better appearance. From [REDACTED] South we have not much cause to be uneasy [REDACTED] the quantity, whatever may [REDACTED] the quality.

Your Lordship's very faithful, &c.,

ALEXANDER MARDEN.

Colonel Littlehales to Lord Castlereagh.

Private.

[REDACTED] Castle, October 26, 1799.

My dear Lord—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of [REDACTED] 26th instant, and, having laid it before Lord Cornwallis, I am to express to you his satisfaction in learning that you concur with him in thinking that the [REDACTED] he had made against any of the Russian corps being [REDACTED] Ireland was proper and judicious.

My Lord-Lieutenant has given permission to two Colonels [REDACTED] Scotch Fencible Regiments to augment their respective corps; and [REDACTED] John Sinclair will, in [REDACTED] manner, probably obtain [REDACTED] indulgence, [REDACTED] two [REDACTED] companies [REDACTED] regiment: but, in any communication which you may [REDACTED] with Mr. Dundas on [REDACTED] subject, [REDACTED] Excellency [REDACTED] that, [REDACTED] his opinion, Fencible Corps, as the sole *permanent* force in [REDACTED] country, [REDACTED] be very inadequate to its defence, and far inferior, in [REDACTED] respects, [REDACTED] well-trained regiments of the line. He never can place a firm [REDACTED] any armed force whose officers are not profession-

ally soldiers, whose pursuits have been, and are expected again to become, different from those of military men, who have no other object in view. Lord Cornwallis merely enjoined me to suggest sentiments upon this occasion to your Lordship, as he would be sorry to con- implicitly any Fencible force, in the event of disposable force, which, it is presumed, will speedily be ordered this kingdom, being withdrawn.

General Lake reports to me that the Carmarthenshire and West York regiments are arrived at Waterford. He also that cattle have been houghed, piked, Otway.

I congratulate you on the laurels which Colonel Stewart has achieved; and I have the honour to remain, &c.,

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

*Rev. Dr. Plunkett, titular Bishop of Meath, Lord
Castlereagh.*

Navan, October 29, 1799.

My Lord,—I but lately returned from my annual visitation, and such have been my avocations until now, was not well in my power immediately to answer the letter of instant your Lordship did me the honour to write me.

motives which your Lordship assigns induce the Roman Catholics of Ireland to address in favour of a legislative Union with Britain are strong and forcible: they have often occurred to me these few months past, and have made a deep impression upon my mind. The sketch which panies your Lordship's letter of to motives conveys a clear outline of the substance what ought to be on the occasion. On the part of the Roman Catholic clergy, there no obstacle to the wish expressed by your Lordship. The obstacle is on the part of the inhabitants of this County in general. The Roman Catholics of

Meath are too near Dublin, and too much accustomed to listen to the opinions of the Protestants of Meath, to be as yet willing to declare in favour of the Union. They are not strangers to the principal arguments used to oppose it, many of them believe these arguments to be unanswerable. The clergy depend upon the people, and they say here they would act imprudently if they wound the feelings of their respective parishes by stepping beyond their proper sphere, and abetting a system which the people are not yet reconciled to. "We are separate from our parishioners," say they. "In political questions, it becomes us rather to *follow* than to *lead*." To this mode of reasoning, my Lord, I must confess, I can give no easy reply. For my part, I will heartily join the Catholics of Meath the instant they show a disposition to declare in favour of the Union. Until then, your Lordship perceives I must content myself with defending and supporting the cause when opportunities offer of doing so with advantage.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

C. J. PLUNKETT.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh.

Wednesday, [REDACTED] 1799.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—You have been very kind in sending me a copy of Sir Ralph Abercromby's letter; and I assure you that no one can participate more sincerely and cordially than I do in the gratification you derive from it. Sir Ralph, as we all know, is not a courtier: nothing short of eminent merit could have drawn from him such high and unqualified praise. I feel great satisfaction, too, in Sir Ralph's having addressed his letter to Lord Camden.¹

I have nothing of importance to communicate. King, the

¹ The letter in question related to the military conduct of the Editor in the brief campaign in Holland; and I need not say how peculiarly grateful to the young soldier it was to be so noticed by such a Commander.

Member for Belturbet, is dead, which opens one of Lord Belmore's seats. It has been reported that Grattan is returned for it; but I believe there is not the least foundation for the rumour. Marsden tells me that he saw a man to-day from the South, who occasionally gives Cooke information of the state of the country. He is a person employed in recruiting, and has therefore means of procuring useful intelligence, if he is to be depended on. He says that, though there is much mischief in the South, there are many of the old members of the conspiracy left, and few who remain of acting; that there are a few new leaders, but that they are persons of no weight or importance; and that he does not think there is any probability of insurrection, unless in the event of an invasion. He asserts positively that money has been remitted to the County of Wexford and the adjacent parts of the kingdom from Dublin by the Anti-Unionist party, for political purposes. The Bishop of Killala mentions, in a letter to Marsden, that Sir James Duff had stated in a letter which the Bishop had received from him, that he had hopes of discovering the perpetrators of the horrid murder committed at Mount Shannon, and that he suspected some of the servants. This, however, is a vague and loose account, that I beg you will not mention it to the Chancellor.

Believe me most affectionately yours,

WILLIAM ELLIOT.

Letter of Shannon to Lord Castlereagh.

Martyr, November 12, 1799.

My dear Lord—Your Lordship's most obliging letter of the 3rd, in which you have been so kind to honour me with your communication of the outline of what has appeared most important to His Majesty's ministers on the subject of representation taking place of the Union, did arrive here yesterday, by the English mails due. Forgive me for the want of your Lordship's confidence and attention, I

beg to offer my best acknowledgments, which I ██████████ to London, though under the uncertainty of their overtaking you there.

The arrangement mentioned by your Lordship, ██████████ I ██████████ capable of judging, is ██████████ unexceptionably planned as ██████████ of it could admit of; and I doubt not that, when the ██████████ comes to be offered to the kingdom in the detail, the ██████████ will ██████████ such ██████████ reflect honour upon ██████████ supporters.

Your Lordship stands in ██████████ highly arduous situation than ██████████ yet fallen to the lot of any minister in this kingdom, having, exclusive of the magnitude of the subject, to contend with adversaries who have not been ashamed to rely upon clamour and misrepresentation, yet, however loud in invective, will be found weak in argument and public estimation. I wish your Lordship a safe return to ██████████ kingdom, in which, I trust, you will find that honourable support that your exertions for its true interest ██████████ well deserve.

I have the honour to remain, with sincerest good wishes, my dear Lord,

Your most obliged, &c.,

SHANNON.

END OF VOL. II.

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